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The Shape of Things

THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE ON UN-RUSSIAN Activities, known also as the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is doing another housecleaning of the arts department of the Soviet Union, having sniffed bourgeois tendencies in some of the rooms. Yet it was only last year that a similar turning-out was accomplished: officials were fired, writers censured, slavish imitations of the West denounced, and the arts lined up behind the Five-Year Plan. We marvel at the speed and resilience with which creative talent bounces off the track and finds its way into forbidden courses. It must use a bicycle—or perhaps a streetcar named Decadence. Can artists do what the status quo tells them for no more than a year at a time? The political high command in Russia, like the Thomas committee in America, has found them almost incurably subversive. Give an artist a little rope, and he turns pink in the U. S., mauve in the S. U.; what he needs is to be pulled up short and hitched there. But the problem is, will he stay hitched and still produce? Senator Thomas and his buddies doubtless would brush that off with a contemptuous So what? Let those fellows do an honest day's work for a change. But here is where the Russians are different, and perhaps smarter. Their persistent attempts to regiment writers and other artists are evidences of a profound, if somewhat distorted, love and respect. As Alexander Werth clearly explained, in his Moscow dispatch last week, they really believe that the Five-Year Plan needs the services of Russia's artists, as it needs technicians and laborers. And so, like Father William, the political bosses kick a few artists and cultural commissars downstairs, but they feel outraged if the effect is to dry up artistic production. Since this is the invariable effect of regimentation on art, the attempts subside after a while and we witness new bourgeois deviations and perversions. The dilemma is a permanent one, though politicians will never believe it.

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CAN WE HAVE AN ORDERLY RETREAT FROM inflation without another disorderly rout accompanied by wholesale bankruptcies and widespread unemployment? That is the question that seems to confront the nation as a result of the slump in commodities during the past two weeks. The alarming thing about the market break is not its extent—farm prices remain at a very profitable level generally—but its violence. In the course of a few weeks, an insistent urge to buy seems to have been replaced by an equally insistent urge to sell. As a consequence, hundreds of millions in paper profits and inventory values have been wiped out. Business men as a class, despite their boasted hardheadedness, are actually given to emotional volatility, and there is danger that some of those who have been pressing the acceleration pedal the hardest may now jam their brakes, throwing the economy into an uncontrollable skid. Yet there is really no need for panic. With a readjustment in prices providing a moderate decline in the cost of living, the outlook for sustained prosperity has, in fact, improved.

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THE GREAT NEED OF THE MOMENT IS FOR cool heads in government as well as in business. So far, it seems to us, the Administration has behaved sensibly. Mr. Truman has stuck to his position that safeguards against inflation are still necessary, and the government has not rushed to support commodity markets, though Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has hinted that the Commodity Credit Corporation might buy some additional wheat for foreign relief. This comparatively nonchalant attitude should prove reassuring to those who are apt to fear that prices have started to fall into a bottomless pit. Meanwhile, the Republicans, seeking a political profit, have been charging at the Administration from two opposite directions, and succeeded only in colliding violently with each other. Senator Taft and others have accused the Department of Agriculture of plotting to keep prices up; Representative Andresen has damned it for plotting to send them down. As Secretary Anderson remarked plaintively, "I don't believe I could do both at the same time."

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BRITAIN'S LABOR GOVERNMENT HAS NOT formally frozen wages, but it has asked the unions to refrain from demands for increases except in special cases, and it has ways of making its wishes respected. At the same time, it has undertaken to hold controlled prices at their present level and is asking industry to roll back others. Should there be an insufficient response, further checks on profits and dividends are likely to be provided in the April budget. "We must get it quite firmly into our minds," Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor

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Editor: Freda Kirchwey

European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
J. King Gordon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams
Aylmer Vallance, Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

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Copy Editor Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Shirley May Segan
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of the Exchequer, said in a recent speech, "that if we pursue the will o' the wisp of increasing personal incomes when we haven't and can't get the goods to match the income, we are courting disaster in a very real way." The government is reluctant to resort to compulsions; it hopes that voluntary restraint and self-discipline will save it from direct interference with collective bargaining. But the margin between economic salvation and a financial crash is a harrowing one. On the one hand, British production is rising, exports are expanding, and the over-supply of money is being curtailed by fiscal measures; on the other, the gap between foreign income and foreign outgo remains perilously wide. Despite all efforts made to reduce imports to a minimum and boost exports, the trade deficit threatens to exhaust Britain's reserves of gold and dollars in another six months. E. R. P. may provide relief before that period is up, but the necessity for achieving a balance on international account will continue. The drive for increased exports must go on, and its success will depend on keeping prices competitive. Hence the desperate efforts of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues to stabilize wages and prices.

*

THE BRITISH TRADE UNIONS, ACCORDING TO the *New Statesman and Nation*, are being asked to show "that the British working-class movement has the political maturity to make planned economy work compatibly with freedom." Undoubtedly, many of the leaders understand the force of the government's arguments, but, as Aylmer Vallance reports on page 212, they are under pressure from the rank and file. It is not easy for the worker in the factory who sees his employer reaping high profits to grasp why an increase in his wage would add to the difficulty of importing wheat and meat. He may, therefore, prove receptive to the fantastic stories Mr. Vallance says are circulating in the factories. Nothing that has occurred in Washington provides a basis for the suggestion that a British wage freeze has been made a precondition for the E. R. P. The whole trend of orthodox financial opinion in this country is actually in the opposite direction. The conservative press likes to suggest that the proper way for Britain to solve its problems is to take off all controls and let prices, wages, and the sterling exchange rate find their own levels. But this "advice" is purely private, and there is no reason to suppose that Congress or the Administration is going to demand either more controls or a return to the free market as the price of assistance. It is unfortunate if Washington reports in the British press have failed to make this clear. Bad as many aspects of the E. R. P. debate are, there is no justification for the rumors which, Mr. Vallance tells us, are being spread in Britain, and it would be interesting to know who is responsible for spreading them.

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ONE NEED NOT SUSPECT ANY DEEP PLOT TO appreciate the unpleasant position in which the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley law now find themselves. When the President, in his message to Congress, expressed his intention of enforcing the measure, they duly applauded. But now that the Justice Department has indicted the C. I. O. and Philip Murray for a deliberate violation, a certain uneasiness is apparent in Republican ranks. Mr. Hartley has yet to be heard from, but Senator Taft is talking nervously about the possibility that the government may have "made a mistake." Its mistake seems to lie in having submitted the law's most dubious section to the scrutiny of the courts. This is the provision that forbids a trade union, national bank, or corporation from making any expenditures in connection with a national or Congressional election. It was Taft himself who, when asked whether the bill would prevent a paper supported entirely by union dues from campaigning for a candidate, suggested that it would do just that. Not only Mr. Murray but a number of American Federation of Labor officials hastened to test the law's validity, and the government is now aiding them, as it were, in their test. The provision in question has seemed to many so blatant a breach of the First Amendment that its chances of standing up in court must be considered dubious. Should it be thrown out by the Supreme Court, neither its authors nor its vociferous supporters will look too impressive to the country. On the other hand, should a conviction be sustained, a Republican law will have martyred a labor leader whom a Democratic President would be free to pardon. Maybe it was Taft who made the mistake in the first place.

*

BEFORE HE BECAME COLONIAL SECRETARY, Arthur Creech Jones was known for his progressive views on colonial affairs and empire policy in general. That reputation has suffered as a result of British policy in Palestine and his own speeches at Lake Success last fall. It is likely to be further damaged by one of his latest acts. In East Africa, a federal system of administration has been inaugurated under which the British colonies of Kenya and Uganda and the trust territory of Tanganyika are to be more closely linked. The federation has been welcomed by the few thousand white settlers who see in it a forerunner of the local parliament they have long desired to secure their domination over the millions of Africans among whom they live. The Colonial Office originally proposed that Africans, Indians, and Europeans each have six representatives in the new legislative assembly which is to control the federation. But when the Europeans protested, Mr. Creech Jones revised the constitution so that it would insure a white majority in the assembly. No wonder the British delegation to the U. N. has been reluctant to criticize South Africa's native policy. In that dominion, General Smuts, engaged in window-dressing for the general election he faces shortly, has deprived the only avowed liberal in his Cabinet, Jan H. Hofmeyr, of the key portfolio of finance, which has long been his. By this strategy, Smuts hopes to refute the charge that his government is tainted with liberalism in racial questions.

Pattern for Peacemakers

FOR the weary and the faint-hearted, we recommend a glance at Indonesia. For there, the United Nations, that muscle-bound giant, has given a surprising demonstration of intelligent and disinterested peace-making.

When the Security Council finally got around to appointing its Committee of Good Offices—a modest-enough designation—the dispute between the Dutch and the Republican forces seemed well on the way to settlement in old-fashioned colonial style. The Netherlands armies, in spite of the Council's cease-fire order, were conducting effective "police action" with the aid of tanks, mortars, and planes, and driving the "rebels" back to their capital, Jogjakarta. No one on the Council was very happy about it, but, as in several other cases, there seemed to be little it could do.

The Committee of Good Offices was made up of Dr. Frank P. Graham, an American educator; Justice Richard Kirby, an Australian judge; and Dr. Paul van Zeeland, Belgian economist and former prime minister. They went out ostentatiously devoid of arms or authority. They carried no mandate from the Security Council to dictate a settlement. They carried no instructions from their foreign offices. Their only assignment was to try to find ways by which the two parties could be brought to speaking terms.

The logical starting point appeared to be to find means of getting the fighting stopped. The Dutch, who had well-formulated ideas for the terms of a truce, were in a strong position to dictate truce terms, for the campaign was going very badly for the Republican forces. The line of demarcation set by the Dutch connected the advance spearheads of their drive and left thousands of Republican fighters pocketed behind. The Dutch had already interpreted the cease-fire order as giving them the right to clean up these pockets.

Beaten as they were, but possessing certain tactical advantages as guerrilla fighters, the Republican forces rejected the demarcation line and other truce terms, and for weeks the negotiations were stalled. The Committee of Good Offices then attempted a flanking movement. To its mind, the principles of a political settlement were just as important as the truce. Leaving the military agreement in obeyance for the time being, it directed discussion to the political principles that might prove acceptable to both sides.

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To begin with, there was the Linggadjati agreement. The first four political principles were taken from this document, to which both parties had previously agreed. Chief among them was recognition of the independence of the Indonesian people in a sovereign federal state united with and coequal with the Netherlands. But the principles required elaboration and a time schedule. Eight more principles were formulated, giving the Committee of Good Offices a role in the negotiations, calling for the restoration of the civil administration which had existed on July 20, 1947, and the withdrawal of Netherlands forces to the line of July 20 within three months after the agreement was signed. It also called for civil liberties and free political discussion as a prelude to a plebiscite which could be held between six months and a year after the signing of the agreement. This plebiscite would give the populations of Java, Madura, and Sumatra the right to say whether they should belong to the Republic of Indonesia or to one of the other states in the United States of Indonesia.

Six additional principles formulated just before the agreement was signed provided, among other things, for the holding of a constituent assembly and the setting up of a representative provisional government prior to the full attainment of independent sovereign status.

These eighteen political principles were signed at the same time as the truce on the U.S.S. Renville, anchored in Java waters, on January 19, 1948. Reports from Java since the committee returned to this country indicate that the terms of the truce are being scrupulously observed.

While the truce seems, at the moment, to favor the Netherlands, the political principles give assurance that the political aspirations of the Indonesians will be realized within a set time—no longer than a year at the outside. The services of the Committee of Good Offices may be called upon by either side up to the final achievement of independence. The plebiscite and the elections for the assembly will be supervised by the U. N.

The success of this United Nations effort would seem to have been based on (1) the personal contribution of three men of outstanding character and ability; (2) observation and mediation on the spot; (3) the formulation of a political agreement in line with the democratic principles which are written into the Charter of the United Nations. It is a demonstration that moral and not physical force is the most potent factor in peaceful settlement.

We regret that Dr. Graham finds it necessary to leave the committee and resume his duties again at the University of North Carolina. He is a type of American badly needed in the councils of the United Nations. However great his value as an educator may be—and having known him well as a Nation Associate, we are the first to give it recognition—his contributions as a world statesman would, we feel, make an even greater impact on the history of our time.

Our Third-Party Critics

AS THE letter columns of the last issue of *The Nation* demonstrated, a number of readers are disturbed over our position on Henry Wallace and his third-party candidacy. Although experience tells us that the proportion is far from being as high as the letters would indicate—the urge to write to editors is negligible when one agrees with their stand and overpowering when one doesn't—we believe that those who protested are entitled to have their arguments sympathetically considered.

Unfortunately, a large percentage of the pro-Wallace letters neither offer argument nor refute our own reasoning, but are rather emotional expressions of resentment at our "cowardice," "betrayal of a trust," and "collaborating with reaction." There would be no point in dwelling on these particular letters at all were it not for the fact that they obviously come from sincere liberals and show how deep the desire is for the kind of leadership many people think they see in the Wallace movement. We share that desire, but we think the leadership is a mirage. It will fade out in due course, but in the meantime it may succeed in confusing a good many American progressives at an hour when the clearest vision is needed.

Our reason for believing in the tentative nature of the Wallace movement is that, through no wish of its leader, it derives its only important organizational support from the Communists and their sympathizers. It has been rejected by the C. I. O., the A. F. L., and the four Railway Brotherhoods, by the Socialists, by organized farm groups, and by the overwhelming majority of New Deal leaders who served under President Roosevelt. Even so staunch an admirer of Henry Wallace as Senator Claude Pepper has repudiated the third-party crusade, and Glenn Taylor has yet to rally to the cause. Entirely apart from the ideological dangers of making a progressive party dependent on organized Communist strength, the fact is that to do so is to build on quicksand. Let the line change, for reasons beyond the control of Mr. Wallace, and the foundations of his movement will collapse overnight.

If this is so, it is fair enough to ask *why* the trade unions, the farm groups, and so large a sector of American progressives have forced Wallace to depend to such an extent on the extreme left. United in support of a third party, they could make the question of Communist support, or opposition, wholly unimportant. That they have refused to back the third party, in contrast to their unanimous support of Roosevelt, is a measure of Wallace's mistake. Their reasoning, and ours, may be summed up in our replies to the arguments of our critics.

We are scolded by a typical correspondent because "progressives have a glorious opportunity *now* and you counsel, 'Retreat!' " Opportunity for what? If the Wal-

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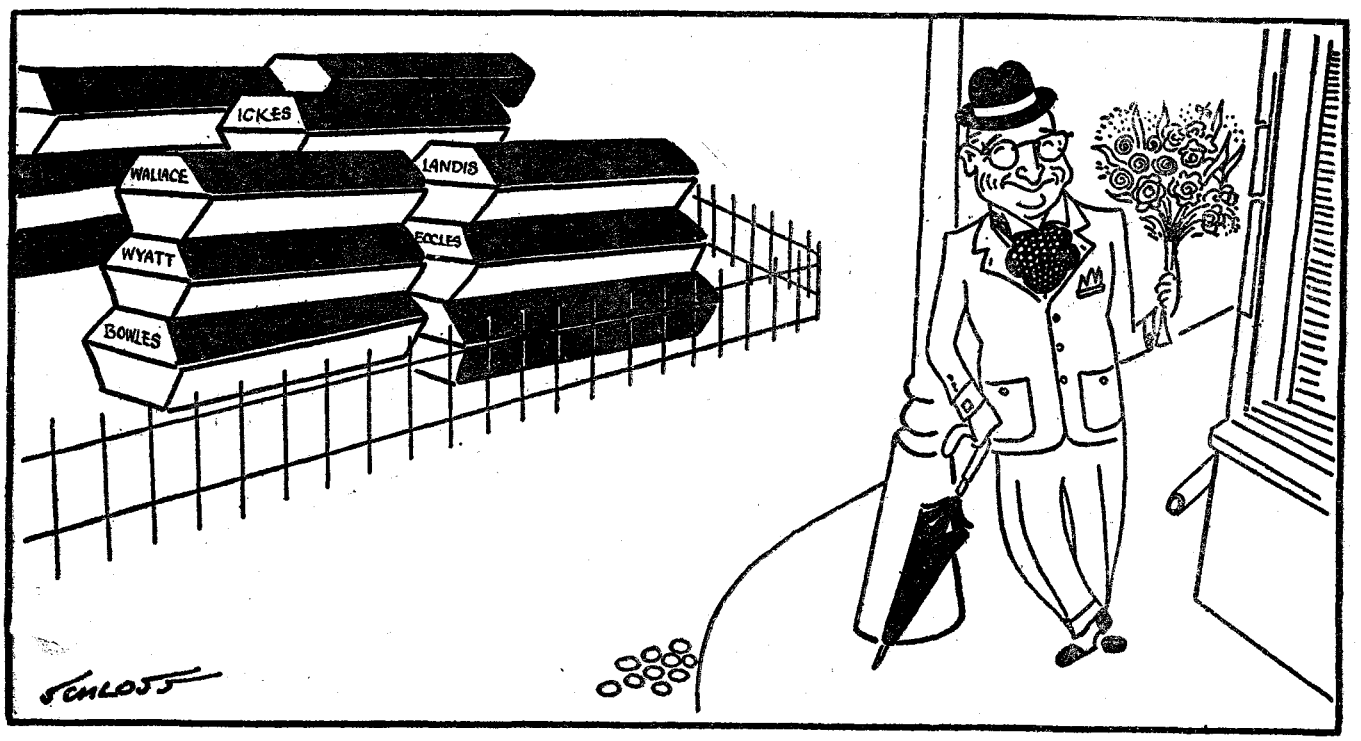
lace vote is negligible and Truman wins, we are worse off than when we started, the liberals having made a display of their weakness. If the Wallace vote is large, victory will in all probability go to a Taft, a Dewey, or a Vandenberg; and we shall be saddled with a Congress more rigidly reactionary than any we have known. In these circumstances, the chances of constructive aid to Europe will go down the drain, and with them the best chance of preserving the peace of the world. Civil war and ultimately world war are the likeliest consequences of this "advance" as opposed to our "retreat."

But perhaps the opportunity the correspondent means is the one cited by another critic, the opportunity to "stand up and be counted." The theory here is that the Republicans who take office will be so impressed by the size of the protest vote that they will quickly undo the mistakes of the Truman Administraton. Our readers know that we have not minimized those mistakes, much less condoned them, but to imagine that Truman's concessions to a Republican Congress—and many of his worst blunders were precisely that—can be corrected by electing the Republicans themselves is innocence in its most suicidal form.

Another correspondent suggests that this "glorious opportunity" is the chance to build a "future labor party of national strength." The assumption appears to be that a labor party can be launched without labor, in the hope that the trade unions can be swung over at some future time. But if labor has the Wallace party to thank for four years of Republican rule, it will be far less likely to look on that group with gratitude than to attach itself more firmly than ever to the Democrats in the hope of relief. It is this very cogent fact that explains A. F. Whitney's return to the Truman camp.

From still another correspondent we get the rhetorical question, "What do Truman's chances mean to the hard-pressed common people of the world?" If the writer were living in France or England or the Netherlands, instead of Iowa, he would know the answer from first-hand observation. As it is, he may be impressed with the comment of Trygve Lie, secretary general of the United Nations. Just back from Europe, Mr. Lie, who is certainly as concerned as any of our critics over the "side-stepping" of the U. N., reports that "big majorities" in all the countries he visited, except for Czechoslovakia, have pinned their hopes on the Marshall Plan. Even the extreme left Socialists in the Western European states have indorsed an E. R. P. without political conditions. Our Iowa correspondent might be impressed, too, by a reading of the foreign press. From the British *New Statesman and Nation,* which thought enough of Wallace to sponsor his visit to England last year, to conservative dailies like *Le Monde* of Paris, European papers, except for the Communist press, see in the third-party move a threat to a constructive recovery program.

This, in fact, is the crux of the argument and the heart of our position. We could readily suffer Mr. Wallace's mistaken tactics as such, and few of our readers will deny that we have often fought in doomed causes for the sake of promoting a principle. But we literally believe that in this year of 1948 there *is* much to choose between a Democratic victory and a Republican. We can think of better Democrats than Mr. Truman, and we would still heartily welcome any efforts by Wallace to use his in-



MONSIEUR VERDOUX

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fluence at the party convention. We believe the energies of progressives, and their considerable bargaining power, should be devoted to forcing the Democrats to live up to their commitments—on civil rights, on price controls, and, above all, on a full and undiluted Marshall Plan.

We consider the recovery program supremely urgent. Wallace will have no chance to administer it, however he would go about it; a Republican President, dependent on the kind of reactionary Congress the Wallace split may well give us, would surely whittle it down to the proportions of a relief handout wrapped up in political conditions; while a Democratic Administration and Congress, elected largely on the issue of adequate aid, would have sound political reasons for carrying it out. To jeopardize the rehabilitation of Europe and the best chance of peace is a high price to pay for the luxury of sitting in middle-class American comfort, hugging a self-righteous purity to our bosoms.

Washington Briefs

BY MADELINE KARR

Washington, February 12

ALTHOUGH the State Department would like to see a Western European defense pact, Foreign Minister Bevin's efforts in that direction have not met with much success so far. Perhaps one reason is that the present co-operative-aid program assumes greatly increased trade between Western and Eastern Europe, and the E. R. P. nations are aware that a Western political bloc might very well cut off access to essential markets in the Slavic states.

The only way this loss could be made up would be through increased aid from the United States. At this time any such increase is manifestly impossible. The State Department is already trying to figure out how to apportion among the sixteen countries plus Germany the expected reduction below $6,800,000,000. On the whole, department experts believe that the best way to deal with the cut is to divide it equally among the recipient nations. But political considerations, such as the April elections in Italy, may well modify this decision.

Incidentally, the American ambassador in Rome has forwarded to the State Department a request from the Italian government for American military equipment, presumably to be used in case of trouble at or after the election. The request is being favorably considered.

THE International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has had a Polish loan application pending since 1946. Poland asked for $600,000,000 for a four-year reconstruction and development program. The International Bank has been trying to get away from large-scale general loans, preferring to lend money for specific projects.

Lately its officials have acknowledged that loan discussions have been going on with representatives of the Polish government. But the National Advisory Council, which formulates American foreign economic policy and controls the actions of the American representative in the International Bank, has decided that the only loan it would approve for Poland would be one of from $40,000,000 to $75,000,000 for modernizing the Silesian coal mines—whose product is necessary to the carrying out of the E. R. P. These days, however, no one in the Administration wants to stress the fact that Poland can influence the success or failure of the Marshall Plan; so a final decision is unlikely until E. R. P. has been passed by Congress.

LOY HENDERSON, who holds the strings in the Greek and Palestine tangles, is nearing the end of his tour of duty in the United States. As Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the State Department Mr. Henderson has managed American policy in the Middle East since April, 1945. His bitter opposition to the partition of Palestine is universally known, and he is being given a large share of "credit" for the stalling in Washington and the U. N. It was Mr. Henderson's airplane journey to Athens last fall which produced the present Sophoulis-Tsaldaris Cabinet in Greece.

Foreign Service regulations call for a foreign assignment for officials who have been in the United States three years. Their stay in this country can be extended for one year, but that is the legal limit. It had been hoped by some observers here that Mr. Henderson might be asked to fill the vacancy in Iran which was created when Ambassador Allen was called back to head the American Overseas Information program.

ORIGINAL plans drawn up in the State Department for aid to China called for only $300,000,000. Now the amount has been raised to $570,000,000 as the result of new alarms about Manchuria, increasing pressure in this country, and worsening Soviet-American relations.

Most people connected with the China program recognize that the loan is political rather than economic. The inability of the Nationalist government to use the money to improve China's economy is universally admitted. However, the proposed $570,000,000 is sailing through the National Advisory Council and the Budget Bureau without much difficulty. But the Budget Bureau statisticians have come up with one suggestion. They think the Chinese government should be asked to pay interest on previous American loans as one of the conditions of this loan.

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SEVERAL months after the war ended, a State Department security officer held forth at a secret department meeting on the importance of maintaining security regulations. He said the staff dealt with many difficult problems which must be negotiated secretly and could only be discussed privately.

The department is certainly adhering strictly to this advice; in fact, reporters are confronted with greater reticence on the part of State Department officials than at any time during the war. Even physically it has been difficult to get news since the department moved out of the dirty gray building next to the White House. In the old building the offices all opened on main corridors, and reporters could gather outside the door of the Secretary of State or any other official and corral visitors on their way in and out. They could check, too, on diplomatic comings and goings.

In the shiny new concrete-and-marble building in Foggy Bottom which Mr. Marshall took over from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary's offices are behind the handsome reception room. The Secretary and his staff have private elevators leading directly to the garage; no visitor need use the reception room or the front door unless he wishes to.

Even at the height of the war Cordell Hull held daily news conferences. Now the Secretary of State holds only one a week, and the percentage of "no-comment" responses has been increased considerably. At the same time General Marshall has been trying to impress reporters with their heavy responsibility in writing about foreign affairs. He has criticized newspaper coverage of the E. R. P., charging that the press has failed to present a true picture of objectives and over-all plans and concentrated on details. Yet for weeks while the program was being formulated and the newspapers were filled with rumors not one responsible official would even admit its existence. The Marshall Plan and, before that, the Truman Doctrine were first presented to the American people through "it was learned" and "according to a reliable source." Perhaps we need a domestic Voice of America to tell people in this country what the State Department is really doing.

Front Men for Reaction

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

ON DECEMBER 27 last the Boston *Herald,* in a lead editorial entitled Balkan Counter-Attack, suggested that the State Department warn the countries in the Soviet sphere that recognition of the "Free Greek government" would be considered an unfriendly act, requiring the United States to break off diplomatic relations. The *Herald* added, "Implied would be the warning that this would be followed with assistance by us to the opposition governments-in-exile."

Behind this seemingly isolated statement lies a whole network of intrigue, plots, backstairs diplomacy, and Emerald Pimpernels. As much as two years ago United States intelligence agents in Paris were sending home detailed plans for an American-sponsored, American-supported anti-Communist "Peasant International." The American agents did not report that the seeds of this idea had been carefully planted by various Eastern European émigrés with whom they were in contact. At the same time other American intelligence officers, who had been in post-war Eastern Europe, pointed out the obvious pitfalls of such a move, and the plan was pigeonholed. During the past year, however, it has been taken out and dusted off. Now, aided by apparently unlimited funds—sources not disclosed—and high-pressure publicity, it is moving along, briskly and ominously, here in the United States.

CONSTANTINE POULOS, former Balkan correspondent of The Nation *and the Overseas News Agency, is now in this country preparing a book on Greece.*

The arrival of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former leader of the Polish Peasant Party, seems to have advanced and crystallized the development of this new but at the same time moth-eaten Green International. The set-up was ready when Mikolajczyk landed. Ferenc Nagy, former head of the Hungarian Smallholders Party, Vlatko Machek, former head of the Croatian Peasant Party, Milan Gavrilovic of the Serbian Agrarian Party, Georgi M. Dimitrov of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, and Grigoire Niculescu-Buzesti of the National Peasant Party of Rumania, all sojourning in Washington, had put together the framework of the organization.

An interesting Washington story in the New York *Daily News* of November 12, 1947, reported that the new International would have the State Department's "unofficial blessing." Obviously; in fact, the same article described the "underground escape route" operated by American agents in Eastern Europe and the ease with which fugitives from the Communist regimes come to the United States. "Nagy," the writer observed, "fled from Budapest to Geneva, Switzerland, and then to New York in the time it takes the ordinary world traveler to get his first passport application moving past the first

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clerk in the average United States consulate overseas. From the point of time alone, an American official must have been waiting in Geneva with full credentials for the deposed anti-Communist when he arrived there." Except for the fact that Nagy did not flee from Budapest but was in Switzerland on a holiday when he was "deposed," the story is correct.

As Seen by Oscar Berger

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk

Certainly I have no intention even to suggest that non-fascist right-wing opponents of the Balkan regimes should be denied political asylum in this country. The State Department's aid to these refugees is noteworthy chiefly because of its bearing on the present issue and because of its startling contrast with the treatment accorded thousands of non-Communist anti-fascists who tried to escape from Hitler's Europe to the United States before and during the war.

The fine hand of the State Department is moving craftily. Just now the ground is being prepared to "sell" the Peasant International to the American people, and "unofficial" material on its plans is finding its way into Voice of America broadcasts to the world. Articles by Nagy and Dimitrov have been published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. A series of five articles by Zoltan Pfeiffer, leader of the rightist Hungarian Independence Party, who describes himself as "the latest of Europe's anti-Communist leaders to escape Soviet despotism," was distributed by Hearst's International News Service. A series of twenty-four articles "written" by Mikolajczyk and "edited" by Bob Considine has been released by Hearst's King Features Syndicate and is currently appearing in the jingo press throughout the United States. All this fits nicely into a phase of the State Department's foreign policy of which few Americans are aware—and that is its most disquieting aspect.

"Nagy and Mikolajczyk are slated to be the king-pins in the International Peasant Union," the *Daily News* article reported last November. This is undoubtedly true, although Nagy will be more of a figurehead and probably play a less active role than the Bulgarian Dimitrov. Mikolajczyk is the new organization's biggest name. For two years he has been ballyhooed in the American press as a fearless, honest knight in shining white armor. He has also a convenient base for operations in the Americans of Polish origin, the largest of all the Eastern European nationality groups in the United States. The partiality of the press has already paid off. Harry Coleman and Company, the public-relations firm at 69 West Washington Street, Chicago, which handles publicity for the Committee to Stop World Communism established by the reactionary Polish American Congress, also acts as press agent for Mikolajczyk, offering "by-lined articles, interviews, etc." with "no direct duplication of material" to magazines, newspapers, and syndicates. This slick promotion, plus the expert Hearst touch, will present to the American people a carefully retouched picture of the personalities and possibilities of this new, reckless, and expensive venture.

THE handling of Mikolajczyk is a good example of the formula that will be used in promoting other personalities. We shall hear constant recitals of their virtues but no true assessment of their value either to the United States or to their homelands. Mikolajczyk's role in the war-time Polish government in exile, for instance, is being thoroughly refurbished. While it is true that his views were democratic, in those days, and his record an honorable one, it was the old Polish reactionaries—men who "always opposed social reform, mistrusted political democracy, and implacably hated Russia"—who ran the London government. They controlled the communications with the resistance movement inside Poland and manipulated it for their own ends. "Mikolajczyk as Premier was aware of this situation," the London *Economist* once said. "He doubtless deplored it, but he did nothing to stop it."

It was the same story when Mikolajczyk went back to Warsaw. He went back, not because he had shown great qualities of leadership, but because he was the only reasonable man in the London set-up and because Churchill and Roosevelt forced him on Stalin. At first he deplored publicly the support he received from the extreme right and the fascist underground movements. Later, he deplored that support under his breath. He similarly "deplored" the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946. Privately, he told the then United States ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, that Cardinal Hlond's statement placing the blame for the pogrom on the Jews, "who today occupy leading positions in Poland's government," had "done good for Poland."

One had only to travel alone through southern and central Poland in 1946, as this correspondent did, to appreciate the extent and meaning of the collaboration of regional P. S. L. (Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party) leaders with the fascist, anti-Semitic terrorists. Mikolajczyk's early flirtations with these reactionary forces gradually shifted to overt reliance on their support. The

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P. S. L. became less and less a peasant movement with a positive social program and more and more a chauvinist, reactionary movement dependent on foreign backing.

Only personal vanity, fanned by the American and British diplomats then in Warsaw, and a determination *to prove,* somewhat ostentatiously, that he had the support of the majority of the Polish people can explain Mikolajczyk's foolhardy decision to depart from the traditional position of the Polish Peasant Party and call on the peasants to vote for the retention of the "gentry" Senate in the referendum of June, 1946. In challenging the Communist-Socialist bloc on this constitutional issue Mikolajczyk had to persuade the Polish peasantry to preserve an upper chamber which had always been responsible for curbing land reform. Confused and irritated by his ill-timed, opportunist gesture, thousands of his peasant supporters, whose love for the Stalinists is as limited as his, voted to abolish the Senate. And Mikolajczyk lost popularity and prestige.

FERENC NAGY'S first unrehearsed comment to the press in Switzerland on his forced resignation last spring was, "It is the natural consequence of the Truman Doctrine," meaning that the hostility aroused by the President's declaration of political war against Russia had made the position of centrist, pro-American officials in Eastern Europe untenable. The day he landed in the United States the State Department convinced him that he had been misquoted. His explanations since have been strictly according to the anti-Russian formula.

Two statements made in the Hungarian Parliament by extreme right-wingers after Nagy's resignation help fill in the true picture of this weak personality. "Nagy played both sides," said Deszo Sulyok, leader of the reactionary Liberty Party, on June 12, "and when he failed, they [the government] allowed him to escape, which was an excellent political maneuver, for then they could make him appear as a traitor." Seven days later Sulyok's assistant said in Parliament, "We all know, and the government knew, that Nagy was involved in the plot [to overthrow the regime]. Why, then, did the Communists continue to work with him until now?"

Actually, Nagy was no match for the Stalinists. He agreed to play their coalition game and then tried to counter their infractions of the rules with infractions of his own. The difference was that they were playing for keeps, and Nagy never really knew what he was playing for. He too, like Mikolajczyk, knew that his Smallholders Party had become the rallying-point of all the reactionaries and fascists—and did nothing about it. He had even less excuse than Mikolajczyk. In post-war Hungary there was nothing "crypto" about the fascism of a large part of the urban upper and middle classes. Nagy knew that forces inside Hungary were conspiring with Hungarians on the outside to overthrow his government. He knew—his son and some close friends were involved—that intrigues within his own party overlapped these plots. He did nothing about them. He thought that regardless of what happened he would land right side up. Not until he was forced to resign did he recognize the realities of Europe in 1947. Even then he revised his conclusions to suit his American mentors.

GEORGI DIMITROV, the Bulgarian, is probably the greatest opportunist of them all. During the war he worked for the British MEF-GSI-K (Middle East Forces –General Staff Intelligence–Propaganda), and his particular talents were put to good use. The British had a clandestine short-wave radio station operating out of St. Pierre's parish in Jerusalem from late 1940 to early 1945. It beamed broadcasts to Italy under the name of the "Free Italy" station, to Greece as the "Free Greece" station, to Yugoslavia as the "Free Yugoslavia" station, and to Albania and Rumania accordingly. There was a "Free Bulgaria" station, too. And there was also the "Christo Botev" station, named after Bulgaria's great revolutionary poet—two separate programs over two different wave lengths. Bulgaria was the only country so honored, and it was the result of a Dimitrov directive. The "Free Bulgaria" station took a generally left-wing line and appealed to the Bulgarian workers in the name of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. The "Christo Botev" station took a right-wing nationalist line, supported the demand of Bulgarian rightists for an outlet on the Aegean, and implied that after the war the Allied powers might be sympathetic to such a "national demand."

As Seen by Oscar Berger

Ferenc Nagy

Dimitrov, an ambitious young man, got back to Bulgaria from the Middle East a little too late to receive the honors he felt were due him. This fact led not only to his falling out with the Communists but, more important, to his split with Nikola Petkov, the real leader of the Bulgarian peasants, who was recently executed for alleged crimes against the state. (There was something rather obscene about Dimitrov's "eulogy" of Petkov in a recent *Saturday Evening Post* article, in which the

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author was introduced as "Petkov's political sponsor.") After January, 1945, Petkov had no use for Dimitrov and his imperious, devious ways. Dimitrov, incidentally, is the only one of the top leaders of the new Peasant International who has registered with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent.

The almost senile Vlatko Machek will, like Nagy, be used as a front. About him, a quotation from R. H. Markham's violently anti-Russian book, "Tito's Imperial Communism," should suffice: "Most Croatians, it must be pointed out, did not go with Germany, but went against Yugoslovia. Dr. Machek remained neutral. . . . In other words, he did not advocate active resistance to German arms or occupation, though he did not go with Germany or German agents. . . . In any case, his inactivity helped the invader and the native dictator [Pavelich]."

THESE, in brief, are the men "on our side," the State Department's front men in its plans to reinstate the old order in Eastern Europe. Behind these weakened leaders, caught in the big-power whirlpool, are the real organizers, the militant, shrewd reactionaries and fascists, the men who control or did control money and power, and who will never give up their hope of overthrowing, with the help of God and the atomic bomb, the post-war revolution in Eastern Europe.

It is significant that in the correspondence columns of the Washington *Post* one sees now the letters of Nagy and Dimitrov where one once saw those of the displaced ambassadors Fotich and Ceichanowski. Nor should it be overlooked that the Hungarian rightist Pfeiffer, once a member of Nagy's catch-all Smallholders Party, was met on his arrival in the United States by Tibor von Eckhardt, latent monarchist, irredentist, anti-Semite, and Admiral Horthy's lame-duck representative in Washington. In this murky background are also men like Mikha Krek, leader of the Slovenian Clerical Party, who was with King Peter's government in London throughout the war and then spent two years in Italy tightening up his relations with the Vatican. Last fall he too heard the siren call, rushed to the United States, and became a "peasant leader."

The real forces and true motives behind the International Peasant Union are indicated by the publication and promotion of the book "Hungary: the Unwilling Satellite," by James Flournoy Montgomery, United States minister in Budapest from 1933 to 1941. This book, put out by a minor publishing company (Devin-Adair, New York), was richly advertised and favorably reviewed in the book sections of both the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*. It is in fact a shameless apologia for Horthy's Hungary; for the warm, gay carnival exhibition that was the aristocratic-tourist section of Budapest and that effectively camouflaged the country's feudal misery. Montgomery has a chapter on Hungary's So-Called Feudalism in which he writes, "No one could figure out how the servants in these palaces [private homes—C. P.] were paid. One nice thing about entertaining in Budapest was that you could get all the trained butlers and footmen you wanted, for despite their impoverishment noblemen always had more servants than they needed and were glad to offer their services."

The International Peasant Union will be used to try to resurrect this era of "gracious living." The Montgomery mentality still prevails in the Eastern European section of the State Department and the Foreign Service. As Montgomery says in his book, his "friend" Eckhardt and he "naturally stayed in close contact after their arrival in America." Naturally. It is the Eckhardts, not the Nagys, whom the Montgomerys want to push to power. The strong-arm Eckhardts who know how to keep labor in its place, not the pliable Nagys who, if it suited their ambitions, might try to collaborate with the working class or the real peasants. The Nagys are usable in the present period—but that is all. The present front men of the new International Peasant Union are as expendable, so far as the State Department is concerned, as the Socialist parties of Eastern Europe are to the Communists.

AS SHORT-RANGE, cold-war strategy, Washington's support of the Peasant International is clever. Since the peasants are the most numerous class in all the countries of Eastern Europe, the Peasant International provides an ostensibly popular base—something the West has lacked up to now in its struggle with the East, which has on its side the largest part of the workers of Eastern Europe.

Even at that, the move is doomed to failure because it is *too* clever. Ignoring momentarily the evil forces lurking behind the peasant vanguard, American support of the Peasant International is twenty-five years too late. For several years after World War I the peasant parties of Poland, Rumania, Croatia, and Bulgaria truly represented the popular forces. Lacking any kind of support from the West, these peasant movements were brutally beaten down by military dictatorships, and when they recovered, their entire character was changed. Their leaders were now lawyers, professors, and small merchants. Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party is described in the 1946 "Political Handbook of the World"—published in New York by Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations—as a party of "well-to-do peasants, merchants, and intellectuals of the rural districts." The revolutionary purpose of the peasant parties had been dissipated, and they had become bourgeois and nationalist in point of view. Inevitably the urban leaders of these movements joined with the ruling classes in their attacks on workers. As Hugh Seton-Watson wrote,

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"It was the National Peasant Party that suppressed the miners' and railway workers' strikes in Rumania in 1929 and 1933. Machek and Gavrilovich [Yugoslavia] approved the arrests of Communists in 1939-41. Eckhardt [Hungary] evaded or refused the requests of the Hungarian Socialists for a political alliance." The names are familiar.

At the end of the recent struggle the pre-war pattern repeated itself in Rumania, Poland, and Hungary. The peasant parties welcomed into their ranks droves of urban elements, including, of course, those reactionaries and fascists whose former political associations had been outlawed by the revolution. As was inevitable, the driving force of these parties was not the politically unrepresented and exploited peasant but the extreme right, anti-Semitic nationalist who was again intent upon stirring up racialism, revenge, and hostility to Russia.

The subsequent process has often been described. Instead of advocating concrete, progressive policies which might have rallied the workers and peasants to more active resistance against Stalinist tactics, these so-called peasant parties geared their programs to the conceptions of social reform demanded by their right wings and expounded by Anglo-American diplomats and intelligence officers in Eastern Europe. It was a fatal mistake, and resulted only in strengthening the hand of the Communists and their allies, who garnered all the credit for sponsoring and forcing through the fundamental reforms demanded by workers and peasants alike.

That the "peasant leaders" now in America will usefully serve even as symbols of resistance to Russian pressure is most dubious. Compromised while still at home, they will lose all shadow of influence as comfortable exiles in Washington. The leaders of the State Department's Green International will soon be only "brand names" sponsored by the Voice of America.

Devaluation and Fascist Revival

BY OTTO NATHAN

> The workers, under great provocation, have shown capacity for statesmanship. The question is now whether a similar steadiness and moderation will be shown by the French bourgeoisie. The omens are not favorable. The selfishness and shortsightedness which have been shown in the last two years by all those in France who have been profiteering by the abnormal condition of the French economy give little hope that a sudden change of heart will put an end to their probably unconscious, but nevertheless perpetual, sabotage.

IN THESE words the conservative London *Economist* of December 27, 1947, characterized the situation in France after the termination of the strikes and after the Schuman government had been in power for about a month. The recent monetary measures of the French government afford unmistakable evidence that the apprehensions of the London weekly were fully justified. Seldom has a government been more cynical in taking so-called anti-inflationary measures. Short of a miracle, these measures, instead of lessening, will accelerate the advance of inflation. They cast a darkening shadow over the political future of France: neo-fascism has come a big step closer to its ultimate goal.

Inflation in post-war France has followed the classic pattern. When liberation came, the inflationary potential, so well prepared by the German occupation authorities, was considerable but still of manageable proportions. That vigorous action against it was lacking in the early days after liberation is understandable. The country was not yet completely free from enemy occupation, and the government's authority was far from complete as long as the United States army used France as a chief operational base. No excuse, however, can be offered by the various French governments—and their influential Anglo-American allies—for their failure to build a stable monetary basis for economic reconstruction since the summer of 1945. The disease had been analyzed many times, the therapy was known, and the symptoms were displayed for all to see. But when there developed the sad old game of rising prices, lagging wages, increasing profits, black markets, and speculation in foreign currencies, the left, which was allegedly in power (under the "wise" premiership of General de Gaulle), lacked insight and the courage for drastic action. It did not realize that unless it broke the back of reaction by annihilating the economic sources of its power, reaction would rise again more vigorously than ever; it did not realize that unless it took such action immediately—on the morrow of victory and at the height of its own political power—the opportunity might well be lost. Similarly, it did not foresee that inflation would become the lever for highly dangerous economic and political experiments. By weakening and embittering the proletariat and by destroying those who depend on fixed incomes of various types, inflation would encourage and spread political con-

OTTO NATHAN is a member of the faculties of the graduate school of arts and sciences of New York University and of Howard University. He was formerly the Treasury Department's chief economic analyst.

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fusion—exactly what reaction most needs at all times.

The first, handsome devaluation of the franc, which increased the price of American dollars by 140 per cent, was undertaken on Christmas Day, 1945, with the benevolent neutrality of United States authorities. It was one of the final acts of the De Gaulle government. It was unjustified, ill-timed, and inadequate to check the inflationary advance. No earnest attempt was made to requisition the billions of legal and illegal foreign assets, or to attack the manifold black markets, or to revise the grotesque tax system, or to make freely admitted tax evasion more difficult, or to develop a sensible money and credit policy. Inflation was permitted to run its course —and that in a country which is so rich in natural resources and which has enjoyed a remarkable recovery in industrial production.

THE devaluation which the French government engineered late in January is not only a repeat performance of the injurious 1945 measure but has some new, disquieting aspects. In line with its deliberate policy of the last few months of abolishing economic controls and rationing and of establishing free markets, the Schuman government made dealings in gold and American dollars almost completely free. It created several legal exchange rates for the franc—about 80, 110, and 150 per cent higher than the previous rate—and legalized the huge, hitherto illegal holdings of foreign assets. The government has not claimed that its action would lead to monetary stability. Since the fluctuating price for free dollars will be the barometer for the French price system, commodity prices will not be stable. Moreover, in an economy which depends as much upon imports as does the present French economy, the inevitable increase in import prices—except for American "interim-aid" coal and wheat—is bound to raise prices of many other commodities. This will, in turn, affect the franc price for dollars on the free market—and the customary inflationary merry-go-round will have a field day, mightily helped by the general scramble for goods and dollars and the reluctance of business men to sell.

Why, then, was such a measure taken just at a time when any possible increase in prices should have been avoided? The government asserts that it was led to its strange action partly by France's need for increased exports and partly by the hope that amnesty for illegal holdings together with the exorbitantly high franc price for free dollars would encourage the hoarders to unload voluntarily. These two arguments hardly stand careful scrutiny. Notwithstanding many statements to the contrary, French exports have kept up remarkably well in spite of inflation. After the customary seasonal dip during the summer, exports rose again to about their previous high. The cheapening of the French franc for all foreign buyers may increase French exports to some extent—until internal commodity prices have caught up with the new exchange rate. The increase, however, will be smaller than is frequently assumed, since the French economy still suffers from great shortages and since in this period of import and export controls and different types of bilateral arrangements the interdependence of prices and export volume is much less pronounced than in former times. Moreover, any resulting increase in exports could have been obtained more easily through subsidies or some of the other export-stimulating measures which have been in use in France for some time.

The surrender of large amounts of hoarded foreign assets is no more likely than a greatly expanded export volume. Apart from compulsion, harsh penalties, and really stringent credit measures, there is only one condition which will make hoarders voluntarily disgorge—absolute exchange and price stability. No such stability is to be expected; the government itself does not anticipate it in the near future. Indeed, two additional government measures, allegedly taken to appease the Socialist Party, which is a member of the coalition government, make it even more unlikely that the hoarders will unload. The sudden requisition of five-thousand-franc notes has undoubtedly intensified feelings of insecurity in respect to all types of French money; no one will want to exchange his holdings of American dollars for francs unless he is in dire need. Secondly, the 25 per cent tax on the franc proceeds of hoarded foreign assets will appear to the owners of such assets a grievously high penalty for "voluntary" action. Moreover, the hoarders know very well that an amnesty for hidden foreign assets is ordinarily followed by another, and that a better opportunity to surrender their holdings may be offered at some later time.

The French government must have realized that only limited results in export activities and recovery of foreign assets were to be expected from the monetary action. So why take it? It was not the result of a sudden impulse of the Schuman administration. It had been prepared for months. The government must have known that further deterioration in the standard of living of the masses would increase the unrest and the likelihood of explosive outbursts. Is it possible that the government overlooked the grave political implications of devaluation at this time—that it did not foresee the political confusion, particularly among the middle classes, which this experiment was bound to create? Can it be that the government did not anticipate a political crisis, more serious than that which occurred in November, if the inevitable new wage demands by the hard-pressed working classes were not met? One wonders whether the two men chiefly responsible for the devaluation measure—Mr. Schuman and his right-wing Finance Minister, whom a great British magazine called a "Radical authoritarian" and a "covert supporter" of De Gaulle's "People's Rally",

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—did not realize that the Socialist Party, in the face of measures manifestly conflicting with its basic economic and financial convictions, would find itself in a deadly quandary? It was obvious that the Socialist Party would be apprehensive that voting against the measures might mean destruction of what it considers the last possible government combination capable of preventing De Gaulle from assuming power; while voting for them might only compromise the party further in the eyes of its supporters. Must we not conclude that there were those who deliberately wanted to weaken or split the Socialist Party or force it to resign from the government? Could the government have failed to realize that its position, based upon a very precarious margin since it took office, would become still more precarious with the devaluation measure? And that this action could pave the way for a Gaullist France?

It is not suggested here that Gaullism need triumph; much will depend on the unity and strength of the left. What is suggested is that the monetary crisis, by further weakening the left and increasing political confusion, may make the fight of the French people against reaction more difficult and prove dangerously helpful to the Gaullist People's Rally. What is also suggested is that our own government, which has been consulting on financial problems with the French government since last summer, should have used its powerful influence for a real stabilization of the French monetary system. Since inflation in France has reached an advanced stage, a stable basis for the country's political and economic life requires a completely new currency system.

Official statements by Administration spokesmen in Washington indicate that, with some disagreement on detail, we have supported the monetary policy of the Schuman government. In our zeal for the cold war in Europe we seem to have ignored the fact that this policy can only accentuate the political crisis and the gravity of the fascist threat in France.

Why has not the International Monetary Fund, in which the United States wields much more power than its 31 per cent share of the voting strength indicates, taken a more vigorous attitude? It is true that the Fund withheld approval of the French devaluation action. While indicating its willingness to approve even fluctuating exchange rates, it based its refusal on the introduction of discrimination in exchange transactions—which, indeed, is violation not only of the letter but of the spirit of the Fund's principles. But the Fund's refusal, instead of forcefully stating the principles upon which a real anti-inflationary program should be based, reads almost like an apology. Since the French monetary crisis has been obvious for many months, the Fund should long since have made a public statement setting forth the minimum requirements for a sensible monetary policy in

SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE MIRROR

London *Express*
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France. An organization which supports stable exchange rates and orderly procedures for changing them should make its voice heard, not after irreparable damage has been done, but long before. Even an agency whose purpose is allegedly merely technical must come to realize the many political implications of what may seem to be purely economic measures.

It is not too late yet for the United States to take a hand. Particularly because of the interim-aid arrangement with France our influence is very great. Our ability to offer material help for monetary stabilization is unquestioned. The threat of fascist revival is nowhere greater than in France; our constructive help nowhere more needed.

Shall Radio Take Sides?

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

EARLY in March the Federal Communications Commission will conduct public hearings whose outcome may change the character—and, indeed, the very system—of broadcasting in this country. Since the interests of the listening public are thus vitally involved, provision of some background knowledge of the question at issue seems warranted.

The story goes back to the year 1939, when a Boston station, WAAB, applied to the FCC for renewal of its license. Examination of the station's record brought to light the fact that "beginning early in 1937 and continuing through September, 1938, it was the policy of Station WAAB to broadcast so-called editorials . . . urging the election of various candidates for political office or supporting one side or another of various questions in public controversy. No pretense was made at objective impartial reporting. It is clear—indeed, the station seems to have taken pride in the fact—that the purpose of these editorials was to win public support for some person or view favored by those in control of the station."

In the light of these findings the FCC came to a conclusion which has since become famous in radio circles as "the Mayflower decision." "Under the American system of broadcasting," it announced, "it is clear that responsibility for the conduct of a broadcast station must rest initially with the broadcaster. It is equally clear that, with the limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his own partisan ends. . . . A truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee. It cannot be used to support the candidacies of his friends. It cannot be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorable. In brief, *the broadcaster cannot be an advocate.*"

The hearings in March will deal with the question whether this decision shall be modified in part or rescinded in toto. Ever since it was made, controversy has raged on two points—the real intent of the decision and its validity. Many broadcasters have interpreted it to mean that a radio station is debarred from espousing any cause whatever, and some have found in it a convenient cover for avoiding all controversy relevant to the welfare of the community they serve. This surely is to ignore the context which gave rise to it. While admittedly the decision was to some extent ambiguous, it clearly had reference to partisanship in matters of high controversy. That it was intended to debar a station from furthering good causes in the community, or even from exposing corruption or malpractice in local government on a basis of ascertained fact, can at least be questioned. The hearings, it is to be hoped, will clear up this point.

But their full importance can be appreciated only if we understand the ulterior motives and far-flung ambitions of the National Association of Broadcasters under its present leadership. The propaganda mills of the N. A. B. are already working overtime to win adherents to a crusade launched more than a year ago by its president, Justin Miller. For Mr. Miller the hearings are merely round two—round one was the smear campaign against the FCC's Bluebook—of a fight to the finish to strip the FCC of all power over radio stations' program service. In other words, the ambition of the N. A. B. is to relegate the FCC to the role of a traffic cop and to secure for radio like freedom with the press and the movies. We shall hear Mr. Miller appeal once more to the First Amendment and inveigh against the extension of federal controls on private enterprise. Victory at these hearings will bring the N. A. B. one step nearer its goal—radio's complete emancipation from federal regulation in the public interest. That is the reason why our very system of broadcasting may be in jeopardy.

Mr. Miller is unlikely to rally anybody to his cause except those who are persuaded that free enterprise in the communications field redounds automatically to the advantage of the public. If the commission reverses its Mayflower decision, one all but certain consequence

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN is chairman of the Department of Communications at the School of Education of New York University and author of "Radio's Second Chance."

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will be that editorials on the air will approximate in character those of the contemporary press. The group interests of the press barons are reflected in the overwhelmingly conservative if not reactionary tone of their editorial columns. As the newspaper chains have grown, the free market-place of thought has shrunk. We can expect a similar trend in radio. While we may get more editorial opinion on the air, it is likely to be even more one-sided than at present. To reverse the Mayflower decision unconditionally would be to perpetuate the outworn concept that the accident of wealth properly confers on its possessor the privilege of manipulating opinion according to his fancy. It would mean forgoing the forward step in social legislation implicit in the Communications Act of 1934. That act advisedly reserved the wave lengths of the air as a public domain and permitted access to its rich resources by the private entrepreneur only on condition that he serve the public interest.

The principle that the public interest is paramount seems to many the determining consideration in this case. Opinions differ as to whether this precludes the expression of editorial views by a station. Some insist—and their arguments are weighty—that it does. Even those who believe it does not would concede editorial freedom only on two conditions. The first is that editorial opinion be clearly and explicitly labeled as such; the second, that room be found, in fair measure, for contrary opinions broadly representative of the main stream of public sentiment. Obviously, no nice arithmetical equality can be looked for. We can ask for fair play, and leave it to the FCC, through the discretionary power it now has, to distinguish reasonably and without arbitrary judgment between fair play and foul. Self-regulation by the industry is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but radio's record does not warrant the belief that we can dispense with the reserve power of the FCC to safeguard the interests of the listener.

To concede editorial discretion on these terms might have a twofold advantage. To the fair-minded station it would give scope for self-expression; and there seems no reason why this should be denied. A perhaps greater advantage would be that such a revised ruling might be the means of smoking out the concealed editorial control all too prevalent at present. By this I mean the practice of some networks and many stations of taking on news commentators without regard for any balance between conservative and liberal opinion.

Thus the free market-place of thought is once more at issue in these hearings. Apart from that, two questions of great interest arise. How wide will be the representation of the listening public at these hearings? Are the teaching profession, the League of Women Voters, the trade-union movement, and other civic groups alert to what is at stake? Are they seeking an opportunity to testify? And what, secondly, will radio itself do to alert its listening public to this controversy? From now on we might watch with speculative interest the coverage which radio gives to the debate. Here is a unique opportunity to educate the radio public, still woefully ignorant and indifferent to its own interests, about its rights in a domain which an enlightened act deeded to it in perpetuity.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

[*Under this heading Mr. Engel will comment more or less regularly on scientific developments affecting the public welfare.*]

IN THE fiscal year 1948-49 the federal government will spend $11,000,000,000 for defense, of which nearly $500,000,000 is allotted to research on weapons. It seems, though, that $50,000 a year can't be found for completing the development of a radar-like device to guide the nation's 250,000 blind.

Four years ago the Office of Scientific Research and Development started a series of projects to aid handicapped veterans. In this day of television and radar, said Vannevar Bush, the head of the office, blind veterans ought to be given something better than a Seeing Eye dog, which only 1 or 2 per cent of blind people ever learn to use. The something better produced was a "supersonic flashlight" which detects obstacles in the blind man's path by means of sound echoes pitched too high for the ear to hear, much as radar locates distant planes by ultra-short-wave radio echoes. Difficult problems—more psychological than mechanical—remained to be solved, but the device looked good.

When the war ended and the Office of Scientific Research and Development was dissolved, the project was kept going for a time by the Army Medical Department and the Veterans' Administration, but last December all work was halted for lack of funds. Of course, research is always a gamble, nevertheless, $50,000 a year for five years would almost surely bring the "supersonic flashlight" to the point where its manufacture could begin. It is outrageous that such a modest sum for so useful a project can't be provided.

FROM the beginning, the Atomic Energy Commission has found it difficult to persuade scientists to join its staff. They don't like the secrecy, the loyalty checks, or the concentration on weapons. Now the commission has made new trouble for itself. On January 1 it announced that the Oak Ridge laboratory would be cut down to a laboratory for research on handling isotopes and that power research would be transferred to laboratories in Chicago and Schenectady. The transfer of power research is probably a sound idea—I will discuss it in a coming article—but the announcement was abrupt and arbitrary. Scientists at Oak Ridge were not consulted or given any warning, though the jobs and living arrangements of many are affected. As a result, physicists everywhere are angry, and more than ever shy of employment offers from the A. E. C.

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What Britain Asks About E. R. P.

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, February 7

WHEN Ernest Bevin was making his last declaration of foreign policy in Parliament, a European diplomat who was sitting next to your correspondent in the Strangers' Gallery paraphrased the Duke of Wellington: "I don't know what effect this speech will have on your Communist enemies; but, by God, it will frighten your friends." Events have done something to justify this depressing prophecy. It did not take long for some members at least of the sixteen nations to realize that the Western bloc which Mr. Bevin was proposing was primarily a political grouping, and that the concept of integrated economic planning, the one really hopeful feature that emerged from the Paris conference, was apparently being subordinated to the idea of a Western network of military alliances.

Sweden and Denmark promptly took fright. Their governments have made it clear that though they might have been ready to cooperate in a Western European economic "get together," they have no intention of choosing sides in political blocs; and as I write, the members of the Benelux union are showing signs of similar hesitation. They are ready enough to subscribe to mutual-assistance guaranties angled explicitly and exclusively against the possibility of German aggression; but observing that a rehabilitated—and, *ex hypothesi,* potentially more dangerous—Germany is apparently to be a focal point in the Western bloc, they are inclined to inquire, "Who is the supposed aggressor? What sort of political and military liabilities are we being asked to assume?"

This suspicion that talk of the necessity—which emphatically exists—for economic cooperation in Western Europe may mask plans laid in the Pentagon for the organization of a neat Western European bridgehead is going to make the task of European planners in the economic field extremely difficult; and it will not be made easier by the fact that the Congress to be held at The Hague in the spring on "European unity" seems likely to be boycotted by the Labor Party and practically the whole of the Social Democratic movement in Europe, and hence to be left to the unchallenged advocacy, by Churchill and van Zeeland, of "Unity against Bolshevism."

At the moment, however, the majority of the British public is interested less in the political implications of a Western bloc, and the question whether it could have any of the attributes of a "Third Force," than in the bread-and-butter issues of Britain's future food supplies, the prospects and ultimate effects of the Cripps plan, and the economic price which Britain may have to pay for participation in E. R. P. benefits. Here, too, I have to record that there is an uneasy atmosphere of doubt and suspicion.

That Great Britain is in no position lightly to turn down the offer of Marshall dollars is pretty generally accepted. With the balance of foreign payments still showing a dollar deficit at the ruinous rate of $2,400,000,000 a year, with the added fear that there may be capital leakages through M. Mayer's new free-exchange market in Paris, with trade negotiations in Argentina deadlocked, and with no obvious answer to the riddle "How do we get more Canadian supplies after March without U. S. dollars?" few people are inclined to pay much attention to the exhortations by Lord Beaverbrook's newspapers that we should stand on our own imperial feet. Nor would the most ardent advocates of the enlargement of planned, bilateral trade with the U. S. S. R. and the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe seriously claim that the Soviet sphere of influence could immediately replace the Western Hemisphere as the source of Britain's essential imports. Provided the hand of the United States War Department is not displayed too ostentatiously behind the Marshall Plan, there will be no disposition in Britain to look the E. R. P. gift horse in the mouth. Nevertheless, misgivings are growing in the ranks of organized labor.

THESE began when the Cabinet announced that the 1948 allocation of steel for the shipbuilding industry was to be cut; and they were multiplied when it was observed that consumption goods—tobacco and foodstuffs—figured more prominently in the suggested list of E. R. P. "availabilities" than steel, machinery, and other capital goods. Did this mean, it was asked, that Marshall aid was to be no more than a temporary "soup-kitchen" measure, and that when relief came to an end, Britain might find itself in a worse position than ever, with its capital equipment starved in order to carry through Sir Stafford's "all-for-export" drive and its long-term competitive efficiency hopelessly undermined? Would such a result, in fact, be wholly displeasing to powerful American business interests?

Doubts of this sort, which I record without any sort of indorsement, were rekindled this week when the govern-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's *London correspondent.*

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ment announced its policy of discouraging any further increase in personal incomes derived either from employment or ownership. This announcement, which was sprung without warning on the Trades Union Congress, was made at a time when wage negotiations covering large sectors of industry—the railways, road transport, and the engineering trades—were in progress. No sanctions, it appeared, were to be invoked against any further increase in distributed profits, but it was made plain that wage increases for state or municipal employees would be vetoed, and there was an ominous hint in the statement that if organized labor did not accept the policy of keeping wages at their present level, any further gains in nominal wages would be offset by corresponding reductions in the Treasury subsidies used to stabilize prices of essential foods.

Among the rank and file in the trade unions the immediate reaction was one of anger, and with the cost of living rising sharply, it is doubtful whether the T. U. C. could put across to its affiliated unions a policy of a general wage freeze. Trade-union leaders may be reluctant to adopt any course likely to embarrass the government, but if wage claims were all loyally pigeonholed, the consequence would probably be a wave of unofficial strikes. For the dark thread of suspicion keeps running through the pattern.

The government's case for a wage freeze rests on the argument that incipient inflation must be arrested and British export prices made more competitive. The workers, however, pay sufficient attention to the financial columns of the daily papers to note that currency in circulation has been falling rapidly, and that even bank deposits, much more inflated than currency, have declined substantially since the beginning of the year—a phenomenon which was to be expected with the 1947-48 budget showing a real surplus. Why, then, it is asked, should the working class be asked at this moment to accept a reduction in "real" incomes? Has it been put to the Cabinet by Washington that Congress will not vote dollars for shipments of food to Britain unless there is proof in advance that British wages will be frozen at their present level? This interpretation may be fantastic, but it is what is being said in the factories.

The longer it takes for Congress to make up its mind about E. R. P., and the longer it takes Mr. Bevin to make it clear whether his conception of Western union differs radically from that of Mr. Churchill, the greater will be the resulting confusion and uncertainty in the political and industrial set-up on this side. The breakdown of the London conference of the Big Four, followed by the leisurely Congressional hearings on E. R. P., with their interminable—as it seems to Europeans—taking of testimony, has left a sort of mental paralysis in which every step is faltering because no one quite knows what the ultimate direction is to be.

In the Wind

TWO VIEWS of the Freedom Train: (1) "The internationalist who looks to the day when people will all be citizens of one world—brothers all—I doubt if he would get much out of the Freedom Train. But it ought to warm the heart of anyone who ever had a doubt about the American people—their belief in their own traditions." (A Nashville, Tennessee, citizen, as reported by Gilbert Bailey in the New York *Times Magazine,* January 25.) (2) "The Southern tour of the Freedom Train was designed and carried out with the deliberate hope and intent of making an issue of racial segregation." (An editorial writer in the Talladega, Alabama, *Daily Home,* January 3.)

TWO VIEWS of industrial paternalism: (1) "Harry Coen, [General Motors] vice-president for employee relations . . . got G. M. to offer $500,000 in prizes (autos, stoves, refrigerators, etc.) for the best letters on 'My Job and Why I Like It.' In came 174,854 letters from G. M. employees. . . . G. M felt that it had got its money's worth." (A *Time* businesscribe, December 29.) (2) "Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, today charged General Motors Corporation with an unfair labor practice under the Taft-Hartley act. He alleged it refused to bargain with the C. I. O. Auto Workers' Union on an insurance plan." (An Associated Press Washington reporter, January 28.)

TWO VIEWS of a specter: (1) "Sir: The political situation is very bad for the Africans in the three East African territories of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. Matters have come to such a head that the Africans find no other course open to them than referring them to the U. N. The Africans know that you always distinguished yourself in the U. N. as a champion of freedom for all nations. I am directed to pass their case to you. I shall be glad if you will kindly send it on to the appropriate authorities." (S. Semakula Mulumba, representative of the Gataka, the Elders of the people in Uganda, in a communication sent November 18 to His Excellency Andrei A. Gromyko, 110 West Eighty-eighth Street, New York City.) (2) "Inspector Lloyd E. Kelley has been appointed to form a police emergency unit which, he said, will be prepared to deal with any happenings in the capital 'like the Communist riots in Italy and France.'" (Another Associated Press Washington reporter, January 15.)

TWO VIEWS of somnambulism: (1) "Even the dwellers in the pueblos . . . are participating more actively than ever in the stream of American life. Many are driven daily in buses to work on the Los Alamos atomic-bomb project in their state." (A writer in the December-January issue of *Race Relations.*) (2) "The average American reader in 1947 was first and foremost interested in his personal problems. . . . Psychology books were in tremendous demand, while material related to atomic energy was practically untouched." (A publicist for the American Library Association.)

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Del Vayo—Spain and the Western Bloc

Paris, February 11

WHEN the French-Spanish frontier was closed in the spring of 1946, it was both a moral gesture and a political act designed to score the continued tolerance by Washington and London of the Spanish chief of state, whom both governments had already denounced as an accomplice of Hitler. Had not America and Britain joined with France in issuing a three-power note urging the Spanish people to rid themselves of the Franco dictatorship? Had not the United Nations Assembly adopted resolutions both at San Francisco and London declaring Franco an international outlaw? By closing the border France not only affirmed its repugnance for a neighbor whose government represented a constant affront to the democratic French people; it hoped, too, that its decision would inspire its Western allies to take concrete action toward helping to reestablish democracy in Spain.

This did not happen. To the eternal shame of Foreign Secretary Bevin, and to the sorrow of Spanish Socialists who saw their English comrades disregard the promises made in the electoral campaign of 1945, the Labor government went ahead and negotiated a monetary accord with Franco Spain which the dictator has since exploited to good advantage in his propaganda. And the American government, after voting reluctantly for the December, 1946, resolution in the U. N. Assembly calling for the withdrawal of ambassadors from Madrid, abandoned any further pretense last November and refused even to reaffirm its previous position.

Now at last the frontier has been opened. Isolated and economically harassed, France has been forced to a decision which is bound to create new friction and weaken an already shaky government. Writing in the *Populaire* today Léon Blum describes his feeling as one of bitterness and regrets that the United States and Britain did not follow France but instead "paralyzed every collective action [against Franco] in the United Nations." At the last meeting of the Socialist Party Executive several members pointed out that continued Socialist participation in the government after the opening of the border would hurt the party's prestige among the French masses and allow the Communists to appear as sole defenders of the Spanish Republican cause. "Orange diplomacy," to use Gromyko's caustic phrase, is not popular among French leftists of any shade. "We don't know," commented *Franc-Tireur,* "whether we shall soon be eating Spanish oranges, but once the frontier is open we shall surely be hearing the shots of firing squads at work slaughtering Spanish resistants." At San Francisco Georges Bidault described to me in moving words the courage of the Spanish Republicans who had fought with the French *maquisards* during the occupation; I should like to think the French Foreign Minister also found it disagreeable to approve the decision about the frontier.

In a cable from Washington on February 5 Maurice Ferro, the able correspondent of the *Monde,* reported that "the opening of the Franco-Spanish border and the eventual conclusion of commercial accords between Madrid and Paris are viewed with favor in American diplomatic circles." Although M. Ferro added that this indicated no intention on the part of America to consolidate the Franco regime, many Frenchmen have interpreted Washington's reaction as a sign that the State Department welcomed, if it did not actually urge, the move as a step toward the inclusion of Spain in the Marshall Plan.

I doubt whether Washington and London are prepared to go so far at the moment, not because of moral scruples but because the promoters of the Western bloc are meeting unexpected opposition in certain democratic countries. I have not heard what effect the recent speech of Sweden's Foreign Minister Unden produced in the United States, but in France it made a strong impression. A moderate Socialist, Mr. Unden would normally be receptive to any initiative coming from British Labor. But his reply to Mr. Bevin's proposal of a Western coalition was unequivocal: "Sweden has no desire to recognize any bloc or association of powers other than that of the United Nations." Certain rightist French papers slyly insinuated that this policy has made it possible for Sweden to maintain a profitable neutrality during two world wars. But Norway, which was anything but neutral in the recent war, appears no more eager to join the Bevin coalition. And Switzerland, though traditionally anti-Soviet, has also turned down the British proposal. If these profoundly democratic countries evince so little enthusiasm even now, imagine their feeling were Franco Spain to be included in the proposed coalition!

Some diplomats here say that Secretary Marshall wants Spain in his plan regardless of its form of government but that neither he nor Mr. Bevin sees quite how to achieve this end. Their dilemma is the following: Include Franco in the Marshall Plan and there would be not only a pro-Wallace, anti-Truman outcry at home but a wave of anti-American feeling throughout the democratic world. Leave Franco out and E. R. P. will be seriously weakened. A way out, according to the same French circles, would be to refurbish the old scheme of restoring the monarchy, but this time with Franco in on the deal: instead of setting Don Juan on the throne—a proposal to which Franco has been consistently hostile—the Allies might rig the appointment of a regent, say the royalist General Varela, now chief of the zone of Morocco, leaving Franco as commander-in-chief and the real master of the country. This solution, I am told, is being discussed by Britain and America and has the approval of the Vatican. When Don Juan visited Rome a few weeks ago (at the time I was attending the Italian Socialist Congress), Monsignor Montini, one of the most subtle and resourceful men in the Pope's entourage, was intrusted by His Holiness with the delicate task of persuading the Pretender that the regency would last only a matter of months and would actually facilitate his return to the throne. Thus, with a few daubs of make-up, Franco Spain would be prepared for a triumphant entry into the Western bloc.

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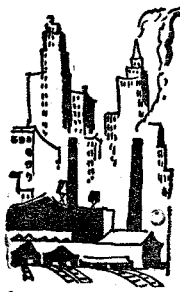

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Corporate Democracy

THE season for company meetings is just opening. In the next few months millions of stockholders in thousands of corporations will have their one chance in the year to question and criticize the directors and officers they employ to manage their properties. Few of them will seize the opportunity. The big fellows don't need to, for they are able to exercise a behind-the-scenes influence and to nominate men to represent them on boards of directors if they do not choose to serve themselves.

But the great and growing army of small stockholders—owners of 10, 50, or 200 shares—are usually inarticulate and unorganized. They tend to sign proxy forms in favor of management without more than a glance at the accompanying statement with its information about resolutions, salaries, and so forth. Consequently, managements able to avoid open squabbles among insiders and to steer clear of public scandal can carry on from year to year as self-perpetuating oligarchies without any serious check by their legal masters.

Some of our big corporations number their shareholders by the hundred thousand; many of them have tens of thousands. But there are seldom more than a handful present at an annual meeting. Last year Verne Burnett, a public-relations *consultant,* published in cooperation with *Trusts and Estates* a survey of stockholder-relations activities based on questionnaires returned by 100 leading corporations with an aggregate of 3,500,000 stockholders. Of the 81 concerns giving details of attendance at annual meetings 16 reported a range of 1 to 10, 17 of 10 to 20, 22 of 20 to 50. In only 15 cases did normal attendance exceed 100.

This apparent lack of interest is not always the fault of the stockholders. Many corporations hold their annual meetings away from the big cities, in places not easily accessible. Wilmington, Delaware, and Flemington, New Jersey—the "legal" homes of a multitude of corporations—are favorite spots. A flagrant example is provided by the F. W. Woolworth Company, whose stockholders are made to forgather at Watertown, New York, an overnight trip from New York City. Its directors have defeated many efforts to get this locale changed: presumably they like to keep their masters at a distance.

Of course, when corporations have huge numbers of stockholders scattered all over the country, perhaps all over the world, anything like a representative meeting is physically and geographically impossible. However, a few forward-looking concerns—General Mills is a notable example—are attempting to overcome this difficulty to a certain extent by arranging regional meetings. While legal business—election of directors and so forth—cannot be transacted on such occasions, they do make it possible for a greater number of stockholders to meet management and ask questions.

The right and duty of stockholders to be curious about their own business is a theme on which Lewis D. Gilbert of New York City has been harping for some fifteen years. Now known as "Minority Stockholder No. 1," he has made asking questions and proposing resolutions at company meetings his unpaid vocation. His pertinacity is beginning to show results. As A. Wilfred May said in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of February 6, 1947: "While Mr. Gilbert is still regarded as an eccentric nuisance in some quarters, with the passage of time his activities have become more directed and specific; and presiding corporate officials now deem it good policy to answer his questions as fully and patiently as possible."

Mr. Gilbert has recently sent me a list of 105 meetings which he, or his brother and collaborator, John, plans to attend this year. They hold only a few shares in most of the companies involved, but in many cases they will turn up with fists full of proxies sent them by a growing body of supporters.

I have also received from Mr. Gilbert a report on his activities during 1947. In this he notes some progress in his crusade for greater stockholder participation in corporate affairs. Attendances at meetings are increasing, and more stockholders provide evidence of stopping to think before executing proxies. Serious efforts are being made by a greater number of managements to contact stockholders and keep them informed about company affairs. Some, for instance, have been willing to arrange for visits to company plants following annual meetings. On the other hand, there are still concerns like American Viscose, whose management refused to allow a tour through one of its plants on the ground that it was improper to admit "outsiders." Actually this description applies better to some of the directors of the company who don't own any of its stock.

One of Mr. Gilbert's strongest contentions is that "fair, impartial, and factual" reports of meetings should be sent to all stockholders. Since newspaper reports, even in the big cities, are skimpy, to say the least, this is the only way in which the vast majority of owners can learn what went on, what questions were asked and criticisms made, and how they were answered. Thanks partly to Mr. Gilbert's persistence, we find more and more managements adopting this practice. Prominent among the "hold-outs" is the Bethlehem Steel Company, which at its last annual meeting asserted that the preparation and mailing of such a report would be too expensive. However, at a special meeting of the corporation on December 23 Mr. Gilbert elicited the information that an elaborate brochure—"The Life of the Late Charles M. Schwab"—had been mailed to all stockholders at a cost to the corporation, that is, to themselves, of $35,000.

I wish I had space to quote other interesting details from Mr. Gilbert's report and to discuss some of his suggestions for promoting "corporate democracy." The present set-up seems to make for irresponsibility on the part of both owners and management. To a considerable extent that is inherent in large-scale corporate organization: in theory it is democratic, but in practice the voters exercise only very remote control. I can see no sovereign remedy, though more and better publicity would be helpful. Another time I hope to discuss what the press can do, but usually doesn't, to assist stockholders in evaluating management policies.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE CIRCUS IN THE ATTIC," by Robert Penn Warren (Harcourt, Brace, $3), contains two novelettes—the title piece and another called "Prime Leaf"—and a number of short pieces. "The Circus in the Attic" is an ambitious tale. Its central character is a man named Bolton Loveheart, but in telling his story Mr. Warren gives us also, in some sixty pages, the look, the life, and a good deal of the history of the town of Bardsville. Bolton Loveheart's great-great-grandfather, a frontiersman, had founded the town; Bolton himself, after a few attempts at rebellion, has been reduced to complete subjection by a mother who, in order to gain this end, becomes a permanent invalid. He finds refuge from his bondage by retiring each night to the attic, where he is supposed to be writing a book but where he works feverishly and happily making a miniature circus, carving the animals and the performers out of soft wood—his principal act of rebellion had been running away with a circus. His masterpiece, we are told, is the girl acrobat, with blue eyes and a skirt of silk.

This is a promising and even exciting idea; but the story fails for the rather elementary reason that neither the Bolton Loveheart who creates a world of his own nor the world he creates is sufficiently realized to gain ascendancy, in the reader's interest or credulity, over the actual world of Bardsville or the passive, woman-ridden Loveheart who is one of its inhabitants. Bolton's secret life in the attic goes on for twenty-one years—from the time he is thirty-three until his mother dies. It is so intense and satisfying, we are led to believe, that it enables him to ignore the world outside.

We are led to believe this, but we are not shown that it is so. That is the trouble. We never actually get inside the attic; the circus is never transformed into the reality it presumably became for Bolton Loveheart. We never see him in his character as the ringmaster of a world of his own creation. Meanwhile the other characters and Bardsville itself, thanks to Mr. Warren's considerable skill, are so very much with us that in the end Bolton Loveheart figures as the subject of a rather pathetic case history and the circus as one of the minor episodes in the history of Bardsville. As a result the story has no center and its point is not clear.

There are some good scenes in the early part of the story—the vignette of Bardsville's two "heroes" who were not heroes at all, the scene in which Bolton as a child is caught up in a revival down by the river and made a Baptist by total and unexplained immersion, his flight with the circus. We look forward to the scene or scenes which will reveal the reality and meaning of Bolton's experience in the attic through twenty-one years of nights and make a character of him. What we get is not anything like an evocation but merely a report, in three pages. Either Mr. Warren himself never got inside the attic or the title is extremely misleading.

I found "Prime Leaf" much more satisfying. This story of night-riding in the tobacco country is well conceived, thoroughly worked out, and cleanly told. It is projected, obviously, out of a strong emotion which keeps the prose firm and taut—there is none of the flabby fond writing which comes out of induced emotion. It moves swiftly and easily, and every character is distinctly drawn with economy and precision. "Prime Leaf," I gather, is an old story, and it is a rather conventional one; "The Circus in the Attic" is new and by comparison experimental. The experiment fails, not because it is unsound, but because it is not pushed far enough. It is as if the fantasy Mr. Warren proposed to explore had got bogged down in the materials of his earlier fiction and his skill with those materials.

CITING AND QUOTING, like drinking and swearing, are pleasant indulgences, but they can be carried too far. And Professor Bradford A. Booth has carried citing and quoting so far in his introduction to a new edition of "An Autobiography" by Anthony Trollope, recently issued by the University of California Press ($3.75), that you can't see the professor for the proper names and the inverted commas.

In the first paragraph Professor Booth names twelve authors whom Trollope does *not* resemble: Cellini, Casanova, Rousseau, St. Augustine, Cardinal Newman, "or even Henry Adams," Huxley, Spencer, Mill, Gibbon, Leigh Hunt, and Ruskin. The citing and quoting begin in earnest on page three, and in the next ten pages he cites or quotes, in this order, George Orwell, Ibsen, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jane Austen, Mr. Micawber, Walter Bagehot, Van Wyck Brooks, Somerset Maugham, Lord Bacon, Ellen Glasgow, Henry James, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Balzac, Arthur Koestler, E. M. Forster, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Galsworthy, Charles Reade, Channing Pollock, Dr. Johnson, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Robert van Gelder, Edith Wharton, Winston Churchill, Verdi, Charles Morgan—and I'm afraid I've skipped one or two. On page thirteen he pauses to say that Trollope is also not like H. G. Wells or Santayana or John Buchan, and then ends up triumphantly on page fourteen with quotations from James Russell Lowell and Edward Fitzgerald.

The professor quotes, of course, "the familiar phrase *'Le style est l'homme même.'*"

I'M MORE AMUSED than shocked by the book jacket of "Raintree County," in which the large and luscious figure of a naked female is worked into the landscape. Here is the literal incarnation of that "earthy woman" we've always heard about. Her breasts are knolls, her right hip is that broad slope with the southern exposure where we always get such a fine stand of corn, and so on. It's like one of those picture puzzles in which you are supposed to find hidden shapes, except that you needn't look twice, though I suspect most people do, if only because they can't believe their eyes the first time. . . . On the other hand, the photograph of Truman Capote reclining on a couch with which the publishers have been advertising his new book is getting on my nerves. I keep feeling that those big brown Southern Gothic

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eyes are following me around, and I've begun dropping things. I wish Truman would get up off that sofa and either go and play with the other boys or help me hang out the wash.

STOP PRESS: I went as Mr. Krutch's deputy to see "The Respectful Prostitute" by Jean-Paul Sartre, which is being presented at the New Stages Theater in Bleecker Street. It was not possible to get a review of it into this issue. I shall write about it next week—but meanwhile I wish to enter the notation that both the play and the performance are very much worth seeing.

Our Recent Past

POSTSCRIPT TO YESTERDAY. AMERICA: THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. By Lloyd Morris. Random House. $5.

INTELLECTUAL history is still pretty much a matter of fielder's choice among historians. The economic historians or the political historians are in substantial agreement concerning method and material; but the intellectual historians make the play at any base without much regard to the rest of the game. Their products sometimes lack that minimum of agreement necessary for communication. From the Jeffersonian swath of Parrington to the tinted waxworks of Brooks, from the gnarled and knotty analysis of Gabriel to the calm synthesis of Curti, our intellectual historians have peered hopefully into the American mind, more often seeing their own reflections than a pattern on which they could all agree.

Lloyd Morris's "Postscript to Yesterday" is a new and important attempt to explore our intellectual past. It is a study of the passage from the age of confidence to the age of anxiety in the last fifty years; and it plots the reverberations of that passage on a dozen cultural levels—from Edith Wharton and Mary Baker Eddy to Texas Guinan and Dutch Schultz. It is a valuable book, not just for its own insight and analysis, but for its success in advancing the solution of certain technical problems which have been baffling the intellectual historian.

Mr. Morris's basic contention is that the attitude of Americans in the last half-century has undergone a spectacular reversal. "Their moral weather has shifted from fair to overcast." In 1896 the good life was clearly attainable; even the discontented were optimistic. For fifty years we enlarged our physical and technological resources. Yet in 1946 the good life seemed farther away than ever, "the old American dream took on the quality of a mirage," disenchantment spread across the land. We began the period with a sense of security and a faith in orderly progress. "We end it apparently bereft of both."

"Postscript to Yesterday" deals with this process in terms of ideas, manners, morals, and experience; a second volume will report the transformation in political and industrial society. Mr. Morris believes—I think, correctly—that the person rather than the idea must be the unit of intellectual history. He thus gets away from the fallacy of the immaculate conception and logical development of autonomous ideas. His tale of the vagaries of the American mind and heart during the last fifty years is projected through individuals whose lives reflect the dilemmas of the age. Yet he also avoids the opposite danger—the sentimentality of individualization. He seeks for pictorial and literary effects not unlike those of Brooks or Thomas Beer, but at the same time he refuses to sacrifice the firm intellectual structure that gives Gabriel and Curti their solid value. He combines the carefully wrought and richly decorated manner with a serious attempt to work out the main intellectual problems.

The result is an account, not just of the hair-dos and table manners of his leading figures, but of the origin and nature of their ideas. He succeeds brilliantly, of course, on the picturesque and obvious characters—Isadora Duncan, Emma Goldman, Dutch Schultz; but he is perceptive and illuminating on the more complicated people as well —William Graham Summer, Louis D. Brandeis, Thorstein Veblen. One is compelled to constant admiration for the unfailing precision, taste, and good sense of his analysis. Practitioners of intellectual history will have something to learn from Mr. Morris; and the public at large, I am sure, can read "Postscript to Yesterday" with great enjoyment. It is a distinguished essay in the interpretation of America's recent past.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

New Approaches To Productive Labor Relations

LABOR UNIONS IN ACTION
A Study of the Mainsprings of Unionism
By *Jack Barbash*, Lecturer in Labor Problems, American University, Washington, D. C.
Mark Starr calls this book "a valuable, suggestive, challenging, controversial, informative record of recent happenings in the labor union movement." Authoritative and inclusive, it examines sympathetically and analyzes every important labor union activity, emphasizing the period from 1933 to passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill. $3.50

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Extra Crop

THE HYBRID-CORN MAKERS. By A. Richard Crabb. Rutgers University Press. $3.

TWO BLADES OF GRASS. A History of Scientific Developments in the U. S. Department of Agriculture. By T. Swann Harding. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.50.

A FEW people may know that the use of hybrid corn gave the nation an entire extra crop during the war. In four years farmers produced as much as they usually had in five with the old open-pollinated seeds. These few people may even realize that hybrids are today making it more nearly possible for American farmers to meet the enormous world demand for grain. But even farmers who use the new corns, and 90 per cent of them do, have only a limited idea of the whole story of this miracle in agriculture. The coming of hybrid corn has unquestionably worked a revolution in grain production. For though Indians and white men steadily improved corn varieties by selection for a thousand years, it has taken a tiny number of scientifically trained men, with persistence, courage, and enormous faith, to develop methods of breeding which within the last ten years have stepped up American production an unbelievable 20 per cent.

The story which Richard Crabb has related in "The Hybrid-Corn Makers" badly needed telling. It is an exciting tale, and fortunately it fell into the hands of a man who saw its drama. Moreover, he saw its importance in time to acquire the facts and piece together the threads of the story from the men who figured in it from the beginning. The names of Lester Pfister and Henry Wallace are fairly well associated with hybrid corn in the public mind, and men like Jim Holbert and Charlie Gunn are of course known to corn-belt farmers. But Richard Crabb has given full credit to those early stalwarts—Hopkins, Jenkins, and Edward Murray East—whose work and influence have been so vital to the whole later development.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this book beyond its valuable compilation of all the facts relating to a great story in American agriculture is the emphasis by Mr. Crabb on one of the points being made today by scientists like Henry Wallace, whose vision is long. These men say hybrid corn is just the beginning. For the principle of controlled heredity can be applied to grains other than corn, and to livestock and poultry as well. Perhaps we are on the threshold of a new phase in agriculture and in man's long search for abundance.

The story of the hybrid-corn makers shows clearly, in one segment of agricultural research at least, the vital role of the United States Department of Agriculture. T. Swann Harding's excellent book relates the history of scientific development in that great department. "Two Blades of Grass" demonstrates that through the years since the department was created its scientists have helped farmers in almost every field of agriculture to produce more efficiently and more abundantly. This is a book for the citizen, written in non-technical terms.

In these days the world's need for food lends special interest to the methods by which scientists have developed rust-proof wheat, produced better fruits and vegetables, and in general contributed to an improved farming. These scientific achievements are the subject of Mr. Harding's book, and the record of the Department of Agriculture in this field, as he shows, is astonishingly fine.

P. ALSTON WARING

Fiction in Review

BEFORE the reviews of Merle Miller's "That Winter" (William Sloane Associates, $3) appeared, I had already set the book aside as one of those young efforts which might just as well be allowed to live out its short life undisturbed by critical comment. For one thing, it seemed to me to work a literary vein which was far too nearly exhausted to merit further critical consideration. For another, it struck me as too obviously dull and minor a performance, even within its established genre, to be worth fussing about. But evidently there is no limit to our capacity for mistaking a battered old hat for a shining new helmet. Not only is Mr. Miller himself convinced that he speaks fresh and strong for his generation, but he has managed to put over the idea on a good proportion of his reviewers.

It is true, of course, that Mr. Miller's three leading characters—Ted, an alcoholic millionaire; Lew, a Jew nearly corrupted by his response to the status of his people; and Peter, who wants to write novels—are all veterans, very conscious of the drama of their particular situation in history, and that such action as there is in the story takes place in the first season of these young men's reentrance into civilian life. Mr. Miller's novel, that is, is all set to be a significant statement of post-war attitudes. But unfortunately an author's awareness that his materials *ought* to yield fresh interest is no assurance that they will. To me, Mr. Miller's insistence that his people drink in a meaningful new way, when all they do is drink a lot, or that they earn their livings in a meaningful new way, when they still have the same old radio and *Time* jobs, or that they love in a meaningful new way, when their emotions are as stereotyped as their vocabulary, is far more embarrassing than enlightening. The brand of sophisticated modernity of "That Winter" was corn long before Lew and Ted and Peter ever saw a uniform—and if Mr. Miller did not recognize this fact himself, it was the duty of his critics to recognize it for him instead of encouraging a young author in the entirely unfounded belief that he was breaking new literary ground.

I'm afraid it puts an undue weight on John Cobb's "The Gesture" (Harper, $2.75) to use it as a counterbalance to "That Winter." A first novel, Mr. Cobb's story of an American airfield in England is very modest in intention and, technically, just about adequate to its purpose. But certainly if any post-war novel I have so far seen can be described as expressing, or at least working toward, a new point of view, it is Mr. Cobb's. For what "The Gesture" is concerned with is the absolutism that can lie in idealism: it is a theme peculiarly pertinent to our immediate times but one which the creative imagination of most of our writers has not yet grown up to.

The rigid idealist of "The Gesture"

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is the new officer who comes to command the airfield, a man incapable of any compromise with principle or of any adjustment to the human needs of the men with whom he must deal. All Major Harris's standards are of the highest: he believes in order, duty, responsibility; he has a gentleman's notions of decency and a gentlemanly regard for the finer sensibilities that are the fruit of education; he feels an obligation to be as courageous as any of his subordinates; he believes that a position of leadership requires one to put one's best social theories into practice. The men at the field are merely conventionally prejudiced against Harris when he first arrives; the better they know him the more they loathe him. Soon even the novel's first-person narrator—a character most remarkably *not* an autobiographical projection of his author—finds it necessary to dissociate himself from someone who, although closer to him in class and training and principles than anyone else at the field, is so far removed from him in common humanity.

It will be interesting to compare the critical response to Mr. Cobb's book with that to Mr. Miller's. I can scarcely be optimistic that a manner as quiet and unstylish as Mr. Cobb's and a literary tone pitched so low will be very attractive to the contemporary taste. Nevertheless, "The Gesture" points a really fresh and rewarding literary direction. Mr. Cobb's talent is still only a wee bud of a talent, but it promises something that is very much worth nurturing.

Because "The Aunt's Story" by Patrick White (Viking, $3) is a very poetical novel about a woman who goes crazy, it must, I suppose, be catalogued as art. Myself, I found it pretty dull going, and totally unconvincing to boot: although I'm sure Mr. White thought he was documenting his case very fully and clinically, I never did learn why his spinster lady performed as she did instead of some other way at any point in her history. Just as a writing performance, however, Mr. White's novel cannot be dismissed as merely pretentious and "literary." It has some striking visual moments; and the last scene, where the book's unfortunate heroine wanders into the home of a poor family out West, is superb. One can only wonder why a writer who is capable of producing this stunning Johnson family with just a few bold strokes of his pen should have preferred to waste himself on the kind of delicacy which is the burden of his novel.

Marya Mannes's "Message from a Stranger" (Viking, $2.75) is the well-contrived and entertaining story of a year in the death of a woman poet. The book opens at the end of Olivia Baird's reign; for the next twelve months Miss Mannes's heroine lives, and recreates her whole past for us, in the recollections of the people she knew on earth. It is a nice device for a light novel, and Miss Mannes handles it with a perfection of female literacy. By this I mean that "Message from a Stranger" is, to date, the best compendium I know of the most approved social, political, sexual, and domestic attitudes of the modern educated woman—and very pleasant attitudes they are too, if a bit over-appreciated by modern woman herself. If one must choose between a fiction of self-hatred and a fiction of self-admiration, there is much to be said for the latter. At least every female reader of Miss Mannes's novel can live for a few hours in a glow of identification with just about as much glamour, talent, and virtue as is possible to our sex this side of heaven.

DIANA TRILLING

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLAND" has been called one of the best but also the least exportable of Shaw's plays. It is certainly the latter, and that is no doubt the reason why it has never within my memory been revived here before. Yet it is also, after all, the only play by the most famous living Irishman about his own country, and there is a certain piquancy about its performance by that thoroughly Irish organization, the Gate Theater, which has used the piece to open a season of repertory at the Mansfield. There is a good deal of charm about the very simple, unpretentious performance, and the play is chock full of shrewd, amusing, and even touching things, though an outlander will be puzzled to say what the final conclusions are or what all the arguments and all the gibes add up to. One explanation may be simply that even a man who has boasted that he can explain anything to anybody is baffled by the Irish question and that even the most logical of Irishmen remains too Irish to be able to talk coherently about Ireland.

The play starts with the simple but promising premise that a liberal Englishman and an Anglicized Irishman are going together to visit the island which

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represents romance to the one, nothing but poverty and hardship to the other. It ends, somewhat obviously, with the two of them combining to bring the benefits of civilization to Ireland in the shape of a tourist hotel with golf links. In between, almost every possible attitude toward almost every possible question has been canvassed. For a time the expatriate seems to be speaking for Shaw when he ridicules the nonsense about "Celtic melancholy." Who wouldn't, he asks, be melancholy in such a place? And he says in effect that the only trouble with the poor is poverty. But presently the role of raissonneur is taken over by a half-mad unfrocked priest who professes to believe that this life is a hell in which we are all expiating the sins committed in a previous existence. He appears to be speaking for Shaw the mystic as the other was speaking for Shaw the Marxian, and he ends with an exalted mystical speech on the theme of the Trinity. He believes, he says, in that society where the state is the church and the church is the people, where work is play and play is life.

All this is rather more than enough for one play, but it is further complicated by what appears to be an attempt, at times even a quite successful attempt, to present in a genre picture the savage ignorance of Ireland, as well as that charm which so much of the rest of the play has undertaken to deny. William Butler Yeats once said of "John Bull's Other Island" that it was the first of Shaw's plays "to have a geography." He might, if I understand what he meant, have added that it was also the last, since one of the most striking characteristics of most of Shaw's work is, of course, just the fact that the action does not take place in any actual physical world but in some realm of discourse where the characters have nothing except opinions and convictions. The attempt in this play to represent some actual Ireland, with local manners and language and customs, has the paradoxical effect of increasing the air of unreality because it cannot be harmonized with the author's usual manner, which is that of logical fantasy. It has often been remarked that the cosmopolitan usually loses his pose of impartiality when the subject of his own little village comes up, and one is tempted to guess that even that international intellectual G. B. S. turns just a bit provincial when Ireland is the subject. Perhaps that is the wise reason why he has never, except in this one instance, laid the scene of a play in the country which he must, in some senses, know better than any other.

So far as the social and political attitudes of this comedy are concerned, one is tempted to conclude merely that all the possible ones are duly canvassed. If Shaw had not himself once said that impartiality is only a spectator's virtue, one might even accuse him of being impartial and say that all seventeen sides of the Irish question are fairly presented. But since he would certainly reject with indignation any such accusation, it is perhaps safer to conclude that the moral is something like this: Irishmen are like other human beings only more so. The problems of Ireland are the same as those of the world in general, namely, the problems of ignorance and the problems of poverty. But since Irishmen are unusually ignorant and unusually poor, the problems are more intense and more acute there than anywhere else.

"John Bull's Other Island" is decidedly something which Shavians should see, but it is not, like "Man and Superman," a play which by now is also for any and everybody. The latter play, as I remarked when I reviewed it, becomes

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more and more a classic, which means, among other things, a play which depends less and less upon its special and timely reference. "John Bull's Other Island" belongs, on the contrary, to that section of its author's work which will never be classic in that sense. In connection with it there is pertinence in the remark which was recently quoted as from an anonymous wit: "Shaw has now outlived the day he was born too soon for."

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

IT IS no new thing for great masters to let unrealized or perfunctory work get out of their studios. But the practice does seem to have become more habitual since the nineteenth century. Of the pictures we see of such an artist, for instance, as Renoir, although each bears some touch of his genius, only one out of, say, ten really comes off in its own terms and deserves to be hung as a successful work; the other nine fail by their creator's own standards. In more recent days Matisse and Picasso have been even more indiscriminate in what they send to the market. But in so far as Picasso's art has declined during these last two decades, while Matisse's has not—or at least not so grievously—Matisse is more to be blamed.

The innocent spectator should be warned that Matisse is not to be judged by the exhibition of his works—selected from between 1900 and 1930—now running at the Bignou Gallery (through February 28). It contains only two definitely first-rate paintings: the very small "Place du Château, Nice" of 1919 and the larger "Seated Nude" of 1921, which latter, in the master's more three-dimensional vein, has a beautiful pearly-gray cast. The very large "Artist's Studio" of 1911 is certainly more important than either of these, but it is only the brittle beginning of something in the way of large dramatic decoration that Matisse was to realize more momentously several years later under the influence of cubism—see, for example, the Museum of Modern Art's great "Piano Player." Also worth mentioning in the present show is the "Carnival of Nice" of 1922, which is perhaps a bit too sketchy, but succinct; in it Matisse demonstrates again, as he does in the "Place du Château," that he uses black better than anyone else since Manet, not excepting Braque.

An exhibition at Durand-Ruel's (through February 28) of thirteen paintings by Eugene Boudin, the nineteenth-century French landscapist and forerunner of impressionism, likewise runs the danger of giving a false notion of this artist's stature. Boudin's forte lay in the orchestration of grays, and it would seem almost that he could paint at his best only on an overcast day. Over the last few years Durand-Ruel has from time to time shown in its foyer superb examples of Boudin's "gray" style—small, concentrated pictures in which a leaden sky that overhangs a narrow strip of darker sea and shore is put together with, for that time, audaciously juxtaposed touches of gray ranging from soot to pearl. These canvases are among the most exquisite and subtle of all gems produced by the art of painting, and they place Boudin high among the artists of his wonderful century, however narrow and repetitious he may have been in the choice of his themes. Boudin was not an uneven painter, and every one of the seascapes on view at the Durand-Ruel show reveals the hand of a master: particularly the "Falaises de Villerville" of 1893, "La Plage de Villers" of 1891, "Le Basin de Fécamp, coucher de soleil" of 1894, and the "Port du Havre" of 1884. But unfortunately there are only one or two genuine examples of his gray style, and we see in the other pictures, almost all of which seem to have been done under sunlight, somewhat too much of that timid blondness, along with dull acid greens and starchy blues, which marked the French academic landscape in the long post-Barbizon period. Here Boudin's crucial shortcoming is made plain, a lack of largeness, breadth, or fundamental boldness that denied to him the first order of greatness. Yet in his gray canvases this is a lack we are grateful for—how else but as the products of a policy of limited objectives could we have got such jewels?

The first American show, at Buchholz's (through February 21), of John Piper, the British painter of whom we have heard so much lately, reveals another delicate painter. But whereas Boudin's delicacy pointed toward the future and was in many respects bold despite itself, Piper, who used to paint abstractly and now does landscapes and architectural views in a sensitive, lyrical manner compounded of Klee and traditional English landscape painting, goes backward in time and pays for his delicacy by surrendering his ambition to say anything really important. Yet there can be no question about Piper's talent, however limited its application and fragile its results. As it happens, he is a much better artist when using color than when confining himself to black and white, as he does in the large majority of the gouaches which make up the bulk of this show. It is their exquisite pastel tints that bring off such academic little masterpieces as the gouache "Lewknor" and the oil "Dungeness Beach." And color also makes felicitous such lesser works as "Irish Country Houses," a set of four narrow horizontal panels in oil, "Nether Worton Church," another oil, and "Caernarvon," a gouache. But, felicity, taste, and all, Piper is not a truly interesting painter, and one feels that on the basis of the evidence here at hand his future can be too easily predicted. About the only thing such good taste can do is repeat itself.

Misha Reznikoff, an American painter whose work is to be seen at Knoedler's (through February 14), seems also a frail talent. But in his "décollages"—which are large water colors that get their texture and some of their color from the effect left by peeling off various layers of the cardboard on which they are painted and then applying the color—Reznikoff ventures into the more dangerous and exciting territory of the abstract. Again, Reznikoff's talent is indisputable, and it shows to good effect in his two most abstract pictures—"Brown Figure," which is a work of perfection,

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AS a result of many requests from readers, *The Nation* has decided to reprint in booklet form Harold J. Laski's series of four articles which appeared exclusively in our issues of October 4, November 22, December 13, 1947, and January 10, of this year. These articles were published under the headings of Power Politics in the Middle East; The Marshall Plan—Can It Make or Break Europe; America Today—at One of the Supreme Turning Points in History; and Getting Along with Russia—Facts Vs. Fancies.

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and "Dances." Both of these are almost monotone in color and have a strength that is belied elsewhere in this show. Reznikoff is betrayed too often by a certain literary cuteness and a kind of virtuosity that brings him close to prettiness, operating in his off-shade color just as much as in his drawing. His other pictures, though they seem so various among themselves in conception and design, are almost uniformly spoiled —some of them, like "Party in the Evening" and the Picassoid "Masks," are just barely spoiled—by a decorative and faintly academic slickness and syrupy grace which in many cases ruin works that appear initially to have been well felt out. It is probable, however, that Reznikoff has it in him to say much more than he does in this show, and I look forward to his next.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

REFERRING to the observation attributed to Toscanini—"When Bruno Walter plays something beautiful he melts; I suffer!"—a reader of this column writes: "As I listen to the new Victor recording of the Schubert C major Symphony not only Toscanini suffers; I suffer." It is not the first time that this reader—not a musician but a music-lover, and a keenly perceptive one too—has complained about what he thinks is the excessive intensity and drive of some of Toscanini's performances of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, on the ground that this Viennese music should be played "in the Viennese spirit"—Viennese meaning, for him, relaxed. Nor is he the only one who has made this complaint. And again I answer that not all the music written in Vienna is alike and not all of it is relaxed; that the particular relaxed quality in some of Schubert's music is not in Mozart's or Beethoven's; and that it isn't even in all of Schubert's. My correspondent shares the quite general unawareness of the duality in Schubert—the fact that with the relaxation of the Impromptus, the Moments Musicaux, the waltzes and Ländler, and even parts of the large works, there are the dramatic power and intensity exemplified by the middle section of the scherzo movement of the C major Quintet, the opening movement of the D minor Quartet, the middle section of the slow movement of the posthumous A major Sonata, the driving momentum of the finales of the G major and D minor Quartets and C major Symphony, the grandeur achieved in this symphony by the unbroken momentum throughout all four movements. And it is this that Toscanini's performance of the symphony shows he is aware of: it is this unbroken momentum and grandeur that the performance produces in the work.

I would say, then, that the symphony as it is played by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Orchestra is one of the greatest things ever put on records. And except for some slight imperfections—like the weakness of the solo oboe at the beginning of the second movement—the records reproduce it well (Set 1167; $7.)

On the twelfth side is a performance of the Mendelssohn "Midsummer Night's Dream" Scherzo—a brilliant performance; but comparison with the one Toscanini recorded in 1930 with the New York Philharmonic provides evidence of the fact that although he has produced brilliant performances with other orchestras he has achieved with none of them the sheer incandescence of his style that he achieved with the Philharmonic.

There is also a new performance of Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony (Set 1172; $4) which one can compare with the one he recorded in 1930 with the Philharmonic. One discovers that he now plays the *Andante* and minuet movements faster; and I like the minuet better in the new tempo, the second movement better in the old one, which is still sufficiently *Andante* even though it is a little slower. One discovers also that he no longer permits himself the freedom in tempo that one is astonished to hear in the 1930 performance—especially at the beginning of the first movement; and that the greater steadiness in pace is part of a simplification and clarification which makes the new performance grand and—as one friend expressed it—apotheosized.

Unfortunately one also discovers that the recording gives the new performance a sound which ends sharply and unpleasantly in complete acoustic deadness and is unpleasantly sharp.

Letters to the Editors

A Travesty of Justice in the A. M. G. Tribunals

Dear Sirs: The voluntary submission by the United States of its captive German enemy to the judgment of the law has been, in the words of Justice Jackson, "the greatest tribute which power has ever paid to reason." The punishment of war criminals according to orderly legal procedure was supported by the people of this country as a necessary and important instrument against the forces of barbarism. The idea of the Nürnberg trial was hailed by civilized peoples everywhere for the same reason.

The execution of this idea, however, is disgracing its high purposes. Judgment after judgment has been rendered at Nürnberg which has shocked the most enthusiastic protagonists of the Nürnberg idea—for example, the acquittal in August of four notorious Nazi doctors, men whose involvement in medical experiments on human living beings was common knowledge. For another example, the refusal to impose the death sentence on any official of the Nazi Ministry of Justice or any judge of the notorious Nazi People's Court, despite their characterization as "evil, ruthless, and sadistic" by the tribunal which sentenced them, and despite the cavalier fashion in which they had signed thousands of death warrants. The most recent of these "judicial injustices," the Flick decision, makes it impossible to remain silent.

One year ago Hermann Göring, Number Two Nazi, cheated the hangman's noose by swallowing a dose of poison. Today one of the men who made the Hitlers, Görings, and Himmlers possible, Friedrich Flick, has also escaped the gallows, thanks to an American military tribunal whose judgment "tended to indicate a degree of compassion for the defendants, and a determination to discover all possible mitigating circumstances" (New York *Times,* December 23).

The prosecution presented a detailed analysis of Flick's criminal activities. Irrefutable evidence was presented showing: (1) that Flick helped plan and execute the Nazi slave program of murder and torture against men and women whose only crime was that they were not members of the "master race"; (2) that his greed for power and profits made him one of the chief plunder-

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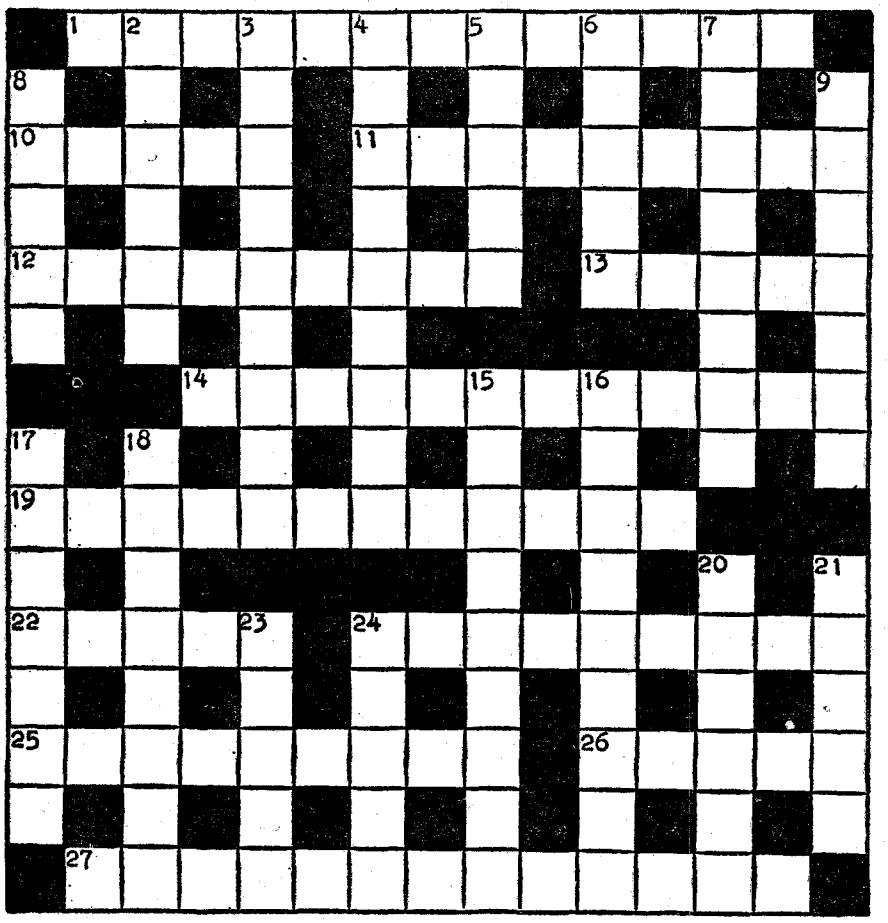
Crossword Puzzle No. 251

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It's hard to understand things beyond it. (13)
10 A dime is enough to make art materials. (5)
11 How the platoon is formed? (9)
12 When a motor is this, does it die? (9)
13 Is T. N. T. the sort of thing to be sparing with? (5)
14 Not as fast at track as it would be if it had a coach. (7, 5)
19 Pegasus? (12)
22 What happens if the cut is to my right? (5)
24 This shows many interesting features. (9)
25 Magnetic conductor. (9)
26 His delight was in the theatre. (5)
27 Surly searcher? (13)

DOWN

2 If you wait, you'll take them. (6)
3 In trade he eventually goes to the wall. (9)
4 Get me up with the bell, when his sort follows. (9)
5 Relieved from a seed. (5)
6 These were often sad in the service. (5)
7 Oil ring a change might make new. (8)
8 Blackens the reputation of a famous African general? (5)
9 This month an article appears in a form of 13. (7)
15 The sort of a coin that comes to harm. (9)
16 Miniver loved them, albeit he had never seen one. (3, 6)
17 Helps when a donkey and I are on the streets. (7)
18 He's a pa, per se. (8)
20 On the road it spins a kind of dress? (6)
21 It sounds great, too. (5)
23 One doesn't expect them from Kings. (5)
24 A harbinger of fall? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 250

ACROSS:—1 SMACKS; 5 UNCAGED; 10 SCULLIONS; 11 IRONS; 12 INHABIT; 13 TENANTS; 14 GROAN; 16 MARRIAGES; 18 INORGANIC; 20 DATUM; 22 PROGRAM; 24 ACADEMY; 26 NISEI; 27 COMFORTER; 28 SCYTHES; 29 DESERT.

DOWN:—2 MOUTH; 3 CALIBAN; 4 SPORTSMAN; 5 UPSET; 6 CHIANTI; 7 GOOD NIGHT; 8 DESISTS; 9 ASKING; 15 ODOROUSLY; 17 RECLAIMED; 18 IMPENDS; 19 GARNISH; 20 DEACONS; 21 MAYORS; 23 MOCKS; 25 ENTER.

ers in the nations ravaged by the German armies; (3) that he deliberately violated the basic moral tenets of humanity by committing other inhuman acts against populations on political, racial, or religious grounds; (4) that he was one of the main financial supporters of the notorious S. S. headed by the Gestapo chief, Heinrich Himmler.

Notwithstanding these facts, the competent American military tribunal in Nürnberg has found it possible to distinguish between a Göring who supplied the military force and a Flick who contributed the industrial wherewithal and managerial efficiency in their joint enterprise of looting and enslaving nations; between a Göring who pointed the gun and a Flick who furnished it.

Göring was condemned to death, but Flick was sentenced to only seven years, retroactive to his date of imprisonment, June 30, 1945. Two years ago such a travesty of justice would have raised a storm of indignation throughout the world. But persistent and skilful pro-German propaganda is producing the kind of amoral climate which whitewashes the naked guilt of the Flicks.

If the American people remain silent, then the industrial war lords of Krupp and I. G. Farben will also cheat justice. We feel it our sacred duty to protest and to urge: (1) that Flick and his associates be retried; if existing machinery is inadequate, new procedures should be established for the purpose of reviewing the Flick decision with a view to setting it aside and obtaining a retrial; (2) that the same standards used in judging the leading Nazi politicians who were hanged at Nürnberg be applied in the same manner in the trials of their collaborators—the Flicks, the Krupps, and the I. G. Farben criminals.

COURTENAY BARBER, JR., MRS. ROBERT BIGGERT, L. M. BIRKHEAD, STRUTHERS BURT, MORRIS L. COOKE, THOMAS CRAVEN, JO DAVIDSON, FREDERICK W. FOERSTER, FRANK GERVASI, C. MONTEITH GILPIN, JULIUS L. GOLDSTEIN, HERMAN HOFFMAN, ERWIN LESSNER, ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ, MRS. NORMAN LITTELL, RT. REV. S. HARRINGTON LITTELL, EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, OTTO NATHAN, CHAT PATERSON, HERBERT PELL, WILLIAM J. SCHIEFFELIN, SIGRID SCHULTZ, JAMES N. SHELDON, WILLIAM L. SHIRER, REX STOUT, MARK VAN DOREN, M. WHEELER-NICHOLSON.

New York, January 16

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